

JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, ARCHBISHOP AND CHANCELLOR  
as  
CHURCHMAN, HISTORIAN AND THEOLOGIAN.

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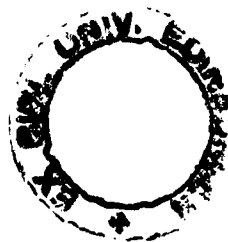
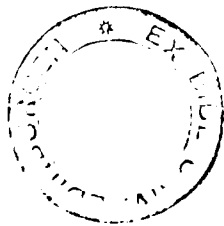
Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

in the University of Edinburgh

by

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## FOREWORD.

Seven years with the Armed Forces mostly spent in deserts and other places where books were inaccessible and leisure for their study not too readily obtained had left me out of humour with the reading and ordered study so necessary to maintain that mental freshness without which a worth-while ministry in the Church of God can scarce be expected. It seemed good therefore to devote the gratuity received at the conclusion of my period of service to the restoration of the years that the locust and the palmer worm had eaten by undergoing the discipline of a definite course of study in an attempt to give stability to the reading which must be undertaken if complete mental stagnation were not to follow complete mental staleness. I shall always feel grateful to Principal Watt of New College, Edinburgh that he suggested a study of Archbishop John Spottiswoode as a means to that end. What began as a self-imposed, irksome drudgery doubly distasteful after fifteen years with no academic work, became in time an ever increasing interest and delight, so that Archbishop Spottiswoode, at first a forbidding figure shrouded in the mists of the past is now almost a personal friend, who has become for me a very real person. I trust that this halting effort will not be by any means a last word, but that one much better qualified than I may some day reveal to the world the real John Spottiswoode.

My especial thanks are due to Principal Watt for his never failing kindness and to Professor Burleigh for his helpful and charitable criticisms. In these days when books are so difficult to obtain I must record my great gratitude to Canon R. K. Wimbush, Principal of Edinburgh Theological College, the Rev. W. R. Torvaney, M.C., M.A. of the Aberdeen Diocesan Library, and Mr. James Smith of Kemnay, all of whom granted me the use of valuable books of reference over a long period. But for their co-operation this study could never have been completed.

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PREFACE.

The scope of this thesis as stated in its title is perhaps best defined by the subject of the study himself. John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow and later of St. Andrews, Chancellor of Scotland, Churchman, Historian, Theologian, gives us our starting point and also prescribes the limits of our survey in three recorded sayings: "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is thrown down at once;" "God knoweth I have followed the truth, and studied to observe the laws of History;" "I profess to believe all the Articles of the Creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed..... This is the sum of my faith; other additaments.... I simply refuse."

Our study then will follow the course laid down by these declarations: an investigation of the events of "thirty years past" as they affect or are affected by the ecclesiastical administration of Spottiswoode; an examination of his claim to be a faithful historian; an enquiry into his theological standpoint with note of deviations from the accepted tenets of his time.

This is not a biography although biographical details must be included, nor is it a history of the period although that history must be considered. It is an attempt along the lines indicated to gather up the various strands of evidence

and to deduce therefrom the principles and policy of one distinguished alike by the high public office he held at a momentous period in the history of Scotland and also by the role he was called to play both as public figure and ecclesiastic.

BIOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE.

John Spottiswoode, elder son of John Spottiswoode Superintendent of Lothian and minister of Calder, was born at Calder in September, 1565. He graduated at the University of Glasgow in 1581, and after spending two years assisting his father at Calder he succeeded to the pastorate there on the death of the Superintendent in 1585. Showing marked learning and ability he attracted the notice of the Duke of Lennox, Ludovic, whom he accompanied as chaplain in an embassy to the court of Henry IV of France. During the homeward journey he was presented at the court of Queen Elizabeth, and in 1603 was chosen as one of his chaplains by King James VI when that monarch proceeded to London to receive the crown of England. James Beaton, last Papal Archbishop of Glasgow dying in France, King James appointed Spottiswoode to the vacant see. Consecrated in London on 21st October, 1610, Spottiswoode was translated to the Primatial see of St. Andrews on the death of Archbishop George Gladstones in 1615.

An able supporter of the royal administration during the reign of King James, Archbishop Spottiswoode retained the confidence of King Charles I when that sovereign succeeded to the throne in 1625, and presided at the coronation of Charles on 18th June, 1633. Appointed Chancellor in 1635 the Primate

retired to England on the outbreak of tumults consequent on the introduction of the Service Book of 1637. Resigning the Chancellorship he remained in England until his death which took place on 26th November, 1639. His body was interred in Westminster Abbey.

During Archbishop Spottiswoode's lifetime two of his works were published: "Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticanæ" a tract in reply to a pamphlet on the same subject by David Calderwood, and the Sermon preached by the Primate before the General Assembly at Perth in 1618. He also wrote a 'History of the Church of Scotland' from 203 A.D. up to the death of King James VI. This last was first published in 1655.

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## SECTION III.

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## ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE AS THEOLOGIAN.

We turn now to a consideration of Archbishop Spottiswoode's doctrinal viewpoint. The aim is to discover the theological position of the Archbishop and to take note of any deviations from the accepted theology of his time. This entails a preliminary consideration of that accepted theology and the reasons for its acceptance. Thereafter we shall proceed to examine the Archbishop's views so far as they have been preserved to us, and endeavour to arrive at a reasonable assessment of his place in the development of theological speculation in Scotland, of the impact of that generally accepted theology upon him, and of his influence on theology in Scotland.

A preliminary caution may be necessary here. Much of our material is derived from controversies of the time. Contemporary opinion may be neither reasoned nor reasonable, and there may be required a revaluation of statements made in the heat of conflict and party strife. Looking back over three centuries, we may find it needful to reassess evidence which to the seventeenth century might have appeared as conclusive proof. Also it must be borne in mind that much of the material with which we shall have to deal will be of doubtful value, being derived from partisan utterances on one side or the other, and also that the point of view which prevails among

Scottish historians tends to favour the party to which Spottiswoode was opposed.

Furthermore we are at a disadvantage in attempting to assess the theological position of Archbishop Spottiswoode as the materials available for such a survey are so scanty. In his writings there is little that is primarily doctrinal and much of what follows must be inferential, deduced from incidental references scattered throughout works which are not in themselves concerned with dogmatics. But if precise statements are wanting the main outlines of the Archbishop's doctrinal beliefs are sufficiently evidenced both in his own works and in the writings of his contemporaries as well as in documents of the period which are relevant to the subject.



I.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

The great convulsion of the Reformation had left many points unsettled in the realm of Theology as in other spheres of human endeavour. Protestantism, as its name implies, originated in a protest against the corruptions of the mediaeval Church in matters of government, worship and dogma; but no system can continue to live on protest and denial. The creative (or destructive) work of Luther and Zwingli was succeeded by an attempt to formulate and systematise a positive basis for their teaching. For Lutheranism this work was inaugurated by Philip Melanchthon, for the more radical Reformed it was given definitive form by John Calvin.

Throughout the sixteenth century, an age of fierce theological disputation, we can observe the chief protagonists more and more compelled by the pressure of events clearly to define their especial point of view, and to justify it against hostile criticism. Thus we can trace a tendency to compress into a rigid formal system beliefs which were at first rather nebulous, or to shift emphasis from one point to another. The result was to harden into the mould of a definite symbol of belief the first free flexible thought of Protestantism.

The Churches of the Reformation had to provide for their adherents some definite ground of faith to strengthen them and

to be a rallying point in their fight for what they believed. Protestantism had no outward organisation such as had the Church of Rome, no tradition, no hierarchy and no detailed system of belief to which it might appeal. To supply the lack, each group drew up a statement of their beliefs in the form of a Confession of Faith, and such Confessions multiplied in the course of the next hundred years and more. In the heat of doctrinal controversy terms became more defined and more rigid; a hardening, narrowing process set in, and the first liberalising impulse of the new Revelation tended to die away in an arid scholasticism described in Macmillan's "Aberdeen Doctors" as "a system which is purely intellectual without having any very close relation to man's spiritual or practical life".<sup>1</sup>

The reasons for this process are to be found in the history of the course of events. Luther did not wish to make a new Church, but rather to purge the old church of its corruptions so he retained much of the ritual observance and internal administration of the former establishment. Always a peasant in essence, Luther retained much of the natural conservatism and superstition of the peasant all through his life, and he shrank from the political consequences inherent in his doctrinal protest. The more radical Reformed, nurtured

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1. p. 96.

in the democratic cantons of the Swiss mountains, in spite of their title wished to extirpate the old dispensation root and branch, and at an early stage in their development they found themselves at variance with the followers of Luther. Also the Papal Church, rudely awakened from its indolent ease, had roused itself and was making great exertions to win back to the fold its lost sheep. The Society of Jesus had been founded in 1534, specifically with a view to the reconversion of Protestant Europe, and the internal discipline of the Roman Church had been strengthened by a reorganising of the Inquisition. The Counter-Reformation, launched on the crest of a wave of reawakened religious enthusiasm was well under way, and much ground had been regained.

In consequence there developed three antagonistic schools of thought. The Lutherans and the Reformed had to defend their positions against each other as well as against Rome. This doctrinal controversy, long and bitter, was further exacerbated by the political and dynastic complications with which it inevitably became involved, until finally the ferocity of the political struggle was paralleled in the dogmatic sphere. During the long drawn conflict, their Confessions became for Protestants the banner under which they contended against all enemies, and in the passage of time these confessions became not so much statements of principles as

definite uncompromising pronouncements of fact or opinion.

This hardening tendency can be admirably illustrated from both English and Scottish history.

In England the Ten Articles of 1536 were designed "to establish Christian quietness and unity among us and to avoid contentious opinions". They were a compromise between the Old and New Learning, with a basis of Catholic, or at least mediaeval, theology. The more advanced Bishop's Book of 1537 was in turn replaced by the reactionary King's Book of 1543, a conservative revision of the earlier work marking a temporary triumph of the Old Learning, and containing popular instruction in faith and morals. The Prayer Book of 1549 is a Catholic Service Book, based on earlier Church Services and revolutionary only in that it was in the vernacular.

The year 1552 marks a new development. The Book of Common Prayer issued in this year marks a definite advance along the road of Protestantism, and the Forty Two Articles issued in the following year show the influence of the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg. Moderate and conciliatory as these Articles are, a true product of Cranmer, they were designed to refute both Romanism and Ana baptism. In 1563 and again (with a few alterations) in 1571 the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion were issued, and now no question arises of adhering in any way to Romanism or of conciliating the Pope or his allies. Queen

Elizabeth had removed Article No. 29 "Of the wicked which do not eat the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper" in order to avoid hurting the feelings of English Papists whom she wished to retain within the Church, but her excommunication and the severance of the Papists from the English Church destroyed any hope of reconciliation. Also Calvinism had made great advances in England as can be seen from the correspondence from the Archives of Zurich, and some of the Articles bear a Calvinist tinge, but Calvinist teaching is far from characteristic of the Thirty Nine Articles.

These Articles of Religion, roughly contemporaneous in their appearance with the original Scottish Confession of Faith and the Convention of Leith have remained unaltered ever since 1571, but that is not for want of trying. The succeeding century is marked by attempts on the part of the Puritans of England to secure the substitution of their demands for the Articles, or at least for certain of the Articles. The contest raged from the First Admonition of 1572 to the Restoration when the Puritans sustained a final and conclusive defeat. Bicknell in his "Theological Introduction to the Thirty Nine Articles" says "there is much in the Articles which, though it need not be taken in a Calvinist sense, may be taken in that sense",<sup>1</sup> and he goes on to enumerate the attempts of the

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1. p. 20.

Puritans to secure amendments in the Articles, concluding "This bare statement of fact is the best answer to any assertion that our Articles are Calvinist".<sup>1</sup>

So much for events in England. Affairs pursued a far different course in Scotland. There the coming of the Reformation was long delayed, and the final external impulse was not Lutheran but Calvinist. The bitterness of preceding civil strife, allied to a fiercer denunciation of grosser corruption and a longer repression by the temporal power made the outburst when it came much more violent than had been the case in England. But the moderating influence of John Winram and Maitland of Lethington ensured that when the Confession of Faith was drawn up in 1560, it gave little encouragement to radical political theories. Theologically the Confession is Calvinist, but that Calvinism did not imply political jurisdiction such as some claimed is shown in the disclaimer of Calvin himself to Sir W. Cecil in 1559 given in the "Archives of Zurich"<sup>2</sup> where he refers to "the ravings of others", i.e. Knox and Goodman, in their comments on the duties of subjects. Political radicalism encouraged by the teaching of Calvinists such as Andrew Melville, allied to the need for repudiating Romanist missionary propaganda led to a progressive hardening of tone. Early on the General Assembly had approved

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1. p. 21.

2. p. 77.

of such Confessions as the Second Helvetic and the Heidelberg Catechism, but this liberal policy shown also in the use of the Book of Common Prayer and the Geneva Liturgy (Knox's) soon changed owing to pressure of circumstances. Heresy-hunting was not a feature of the first Reformers in Scotland, and although the General Assembly had much to do to rectify the unworthy lives or illegal acts of ministers, there is little heard of false doctrine. But as the Church settled down and the Reformation became an accomplished fact, speculation began on the interpretation of various points of doctrine. This was more evident on the Continent than in Scotland, but the influence of such speculation inevitably was felt by the second generation of the Scottish Reformed, and we can trace in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a stiffening doctrinal orthodoxy. The King's or Negative Confession drawn up at the instance of James VI in 1580 is little more than a denunciation of Romanism, as indeed it was meant to be; the Second Book of Discipline marks the development of High Presbyterianism; and in 1616 under the Episcopal regime of Spottiswoods a new Confession of Faith shows a stricter and more inflexible application of Calvinist doctrine, presumably as a safeguard against any taint of Arminianism. This process of hardening and narrowing destroyed the spirit of independent enquiry with which the Reformation had begun, and crushed that liberalism of thought which was and which should be a main

distinguishing feature of Protestantism. An iron system of doctrinal belief stifled freedom of thought and repressed freedom of expression in Scotland for many years to come.

It is against this background of systematisation of faith that Archbishop Spottiswoode plays his part. He had a full share in the hardening process, and throughout his public life it fell to him to impose on a reluctant Church uniformity in matters which he himself regarded as indifferent, or the necessity for which he doubted and the inexpediency of which he thoroughly understood and appreciated.



II.

SPOTTISWOODE'S PERSONAL THEOLOGY.

For a number of years after his ordination, the future Primate seems to have trod the path of accepted Calvinist orthodoxy. He, in Wodrow's words "for some time was under Mr. Andrew and James Melville as his masters at Glasgow, and for some time he seemed to follow that zealous and firm course they chose."<sup>1</sup> So far as this statement can be verified, it is borne out by Spottiswoode's early career. In his younger days he is usually to be found with the anti-prelatic party, and is recorded as dissenting from the royal vindication of Archbishop Adamson in 1586, and as late as 1596 he is to be found opposing King James's ecclesiastical policy.

When his views on Church government underwent modification, no change is apparent in the sphere of dogma: In 1596 and again in 1604 (now Archbishop of Glasgow) Spottiswoode signed the Confession of Faith and seems to have regarded that formulary as a sufficient and agreeable standard of Christian doctrine. That conversion to Episcopacy need not entail any theological change is also shown in the case of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, who brought up in the school of Andrew Melville, eventually embraced episcopacy but in

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1. Life p. 363.

theology remained a thorough-going Calvinist. Again in England at the same time there was the case of Abbott, Puritan in mind and Calvinist in doctrine, who yet could accept the Primacy of the Church of England offered by King James, and who, when he failed to carry his views in the councils of the Church remained in office exercising little influence in ecclesiastical administration but retaining his Primatial office and functions to the end. So also Spottiswoode the Archbishop and Primate of Scotland is little changed in his theological principles from Spottiswoode the pupil of Andrew Melville.

That there was no change in the Archbishop's theological outlook may be inferred from three documents of the period.

1. "Ane Act for Observing Ane Conform Order in Discipline within the Synod of Cliddsdail" (1612); 2. The Aberdeen Confession of Faith (1616); 3. The Liturgy of 1616-1618.

1. The Act of the Synod of Clydesdale, preserved by Wodrow,<sup>1</sup> is redolent of that stern disciplinary strictness commonly associated with Calvinism, and is strongly reminiscent in some ways of the Second Book of Discipline. The Kirk is the arbiter in all cases and a number of crimes are mentioned with the punishment deemed appropriate.

"If any blaspheme the name of God .... shall make their repentance in their Parish Kirk two Sabbaths.

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1. Life pp. 403-406.

Whosoever shall perjure himself ... shall make his repentance in Sackcloth 3 Sabbaths and be punished otherwise as the session of the Kirk shall think good .....

If any shall wilfully absent themselves from the Kirk, they shall make their repentance one day and pay in penalty 20 shillings.

Whosoever absents themselves from the examinations that are used before the Communion ... shall pay six shillings.

If any shall wilfully absent themselves from the Communion they shall make their repentance two Sabbaths in their linen clothes and their penalty shall be 20 marks .....

If any shall disobey the admonitions of the Kirk they shall pay for contempt of every admonition 6 shillings and eight pennies. No minister shall appoint a Fast in his congregation without the advice of the Presbytery .....

The Session of the Kirk shall do their diligence to try night walkers and such as keep suspicious times ....."

The above selection as given by Wodrow is sufficient to show the general tenor of the Act which is headed "It is statuted and ordained that the Rules following be precisely kept by all ministers within their Sessions and by all moderators of the Presbyteries within their meetings against every delinquent or Slandorous Offender in the Act subsequent". The first article reads "Whosoever being lawfully charged to give confession of his faith swear and subscribe to the same

and shall refuse to give obedience shall be excommunicate and cut off from the Society of the Kirk after due admonitions and uniform prescribed".

This Act is very instructive. It shows the disciplinary machinery of the Church in action. The Kirk is authorised to try cases which would now be entrusted to the civil power, and we see the great power given to Kirk Sessions in their parishes. Wilful murder even comes in their purview, with penalty of six months repentance and forty pounds, and adulterers might be kept in prison with bread and water and stand one Sunday in the 'jougs'. The Bishops, according to Wodrow probably agreed on these orders at a general meeting. The external disciplinary system of Calvinism seems to have appealed to the Episcopate.

2. The Confession of Faith presented to the General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1616 had been projected some time earlier. It was drawn up by John Hall and John Adamson, and originated in the desire of King James to have as much uniformity as possible between his two kingdoms, in politics, Church administration and even in theology. There exists a paper in Spottiswoode's writing which declares that "a public Confession of Faith must be formed agreeing, so near as can be, with the Confession of the English Church". As the main doctrinal trend in England was still strongly Calvinist it may be expected that a Calvinistic

colouring would be found in any conforming statement of belief, but the Aberdeen Confession bears little resemblance to the English Thirty Nine Articles of Religion.

Had Spottiswoode or James been desirous of altering the tone of the Church's beliefs they had an opportunity here, but it is evident that they had no such desire. The new Confession was made a test of orthodoxy for the Marquis of Huntly who had to subscribe it before being released from excommunication. He did so we are told by Calderwood<sup>1</sup> without even reading the new formulary on being assured that it was "all one with the first confession". This statement is generally true. The only real difference is that the new Confession marks a further step along the road of strict Calvinist orthodoxy, betokening in doctrinal matters a further hardening into a scholastic theology of what had originally been a free and liberally conceived symbol. Opinions which were permissible in 1560 and even in 1580 were so no longer, and no one seems to have taken doctrinal exception.

The decrees of God are absolute and from all eternity. "Before the foundation of the world, God, according to the good pleasure of His will, did predestinate and elect in Christ, some men and angels unto eternal felicity, and others He did appoint for eternal condemnation to the praise and glory of His justice". Redemption is limited to the elect alone, who are restored by the Grace of God through faith in

Jesus Christ, and reprobation is mentioned, an absolute appointment to eternal condemnation, "only those who are elected before all time are in time redeemed .... only of the mercy of God through faith in Jesus Christ". Jesus is the only Master and Teacher of His kirk and our only mediator, both of redemption and intercession, Who by His sacrifice on the Cross made full satisfaction for all our sins. Jesus is our eternal King and only Head of His kirk universal. Our Justification is not in the faith that apprehendeth, but in the righteousness of Christ by faith apprehended. The Sacraments confer Grace not of themselves, but only by the powerful operation of the Holy Ghost. Baptism is necessary to Salvation where it can be orderly had and it seals up the remission of all our sins. In the Lord's Supper the elements are not transubstantiated or changed in the substance, but they change their use and the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present and the communicants truly partake of them but only spiritually and by faith. The souls of the faithful pass immediately to Heaven and the souls of the wicked to Hell: there is no third state for souls. There is a holy Catholic Church of the faithful who are chosen by God to life everlasting and outside that Church there is no remission of sins to salvation. Kings and magistrates are ordained by God to help His kirk and subjects are bound to obey them in commands not repugnant to the will of

God and the Kirk of Scotland is one of the purest in the world, both in truth of doctrine and purity of worship.

The Assembly ordered this Confession to be examined and then published by a committee consisting of William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, Dr. John Howie, George Hay, Patrick Forbes of Corse and William Struthers.<sup>1</sup> Although the Church had now Episcopal government, its faith manifested itself in a yet stricter, narrower orthodoxy, and John Spottiswoode signed and approved this Confession which he had helped to originate.

It is worth noting that as early as 1595, the Lambeth Articles of Whitaker and Archbishop Whitgift which the Puritans wished to impose on the Church of England begin "God from eternity has predestinated some to life and some He has reprobated to death", and later state "those who are not predestinated to salvation of necessity will be damned on account of their sins."<sup>2</sup> These Lambeth Articles were dropped after the decisive intervention of Queen Elizabeth, but similar articles were later adopted by the Church of Ireland, mainly through the influence of Archbishop Usher. This may have had no direct influence upon the Scottish Church, but it shows the prevailing tendency of the age. The liberal ideas of Arminius and his followers provoked a stiffer reaction from Calvinist orthodoxy.

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1. Calderwood VII 226

2. Bicknell, p. 247n.

3. The general tone of Spottiswoode's theology seems to be accurately represented in the Prayer Book drawn up as a result of this same General Assembly of 1616. The need for a revision of the existing Book of Common Order (Knox's Liturgy) had been widely recognised for some time, and all parties were united on this subject. It had been resolved "that a Liturgy be made and form of Divine Service which shall be read in every church in common prayer and before preaching every Sabbath"<sup>1</sup> or as the Archbishop himself puts it "that a liturgy or book of common prayer should be formed for the use of the Church".<sup>2</sup> The resulting work, never used and not published until 1871, reflects the mind of the Primate. He originated the book, he gave the final revision and sponsored it in London, and it was to him that the general oversight of the project was entrusted by the King and by his fellow bishops.

Here as in other spheres of thought and action we find reflected King James's desire for closer conformity between Scotland and England. Thus we have a revision of John Knox's Liturgy designed to incorporate as much as possible of the Book of Common Prayer as the latter then was. The general tone of the Liturgy is rather in harmony with Puritan exceptions to the English book urged at the Conference at Hampton Court and, later, at the Savoy Conference. In the Calendar printed at the

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1. Calderwood VII 229.

2. Hist. Vol. III, p. 236.



beginning no Saints' Days are included, but in conformity with the decision of the Perth Assembly of 1618 special forms are provided for the observance of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord and for Whitsunday. No readings are taken from the Apocrypha, the Lord's Prayer is not used more than once in any service and the Gloria Patri is to be used only after the last Psalm. Antiphonal Versicles and Responses are not included and in the Holy Communion Service, although portions of the English rite are included, the emphasis throughout is on the current Scottish practice, although again in obedience to the decision of the Perth Assembly, kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament is enjoined. Agreeably with Reformed views there is no Burial Service, and Baptismal regeneration is barely mentioned.

The compilation, which, in the opinion of its editor Dr. Sprott,<sup>1</sup> owes much to Bishop Cowper of Galloway, seems to represent the Primate's views fairly accurately. Urged on by the king to press conformity and uniformity, the cautious, politic Archbishop moved very circumspectly indeed, seemingly far from satisfied in his own mind that the English Book of Common Prayer was in any way likely to be acceptable in Scotland, and also probably being far from convinced of the need for any substantial alteration in the established order. In fact this

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1. Liturgies of the reign of James VI.

Service Book of 1616-18 seems to be as far as Spottiswoode was prepared to go, because when in 1629, at the behest of King Charles and Laud, the liturgical project, dormant for ten years, was brought forward once more, Spottiswoode brought forward the draft of the earlier book which he had kept by him, and he was averse from trying to introduce the English book in toto as Laud desired. It is recorded: "There was during this time much pains taken by his Majesty here and my Lord St. Andrews there to have it so framed as we needed not be ashamed of it;" and as late as 1633, if Guthrie is to be trusted, the Scottish Primate wanted the older book, but "Bishop Maxwell, and with him Mr. Thomas Sydserf and Mr. Mitchell and others pressed hard ..... assuring that there was no kind of danger in it".

The general conformity of Spottiswoode to the norm of Calvinist orthodoxy indicated so far is borne out also by doctrinal references scattered throughout his "History of the Church of Scotland". Generally they tend in the same direction, showing stiff opposition to Romanism and orthodoxy in the Calvinist system. The first Reformers in their breach with Rome had two grounds of appeal, the Scriptures and the early Fathers of the Church. In this they were followed by their spiritual descendants, Spottiswoode with the rest. Thus when dealing with the early days of Christianity in Scotland, Spottiswoode is at pains to show harmony between early Christians

and the post-Reformation Church. There are many references to the days before Christian belief and worship were tainted and corrupted by Roman accretions and perversions. Writing of the origins of the Church in Scotland he says "our Church was not fashioned to the Roman in outward rites"<sup>1</sup> and that sets the keynote of his later comments.

An indication of the general trend may be obtained from the following references and quotations. The keeping of relics in safe custody is distinguished from relic worship,<sup>2</sup> tutelary saints he calls a "conceit of the people"<sup>3</sup> and "fabulous Purgatory"<sup>4</sup> is a late invention. "Bondage of vows with the opinion of merit and perfection is what we discommend"<sup>5</sup> and all Bishops as well as the Pope are successors of the Apostles as Clemens (a Scotsman) maintained against Boniface, Bishop of Mainz, and the excommunication for his opposition to Boniface as a corrupter of Christian doctrine in his support of the pretensions of Pope Gregory II is called "the custom of handling those that oppose the corruption of the Roman Church".<sup>6</sup> Joannes Scotus was "in great respect with all, the Roman Church excepted"<sup>7</sup> and his treatise on the Eucharist "a pious and learned work" was condemned by Pope Leo IX. Clemens who had "no opposition made to him nor to his doctrine .... taught no other than what is with us in these times taught and professed".<sup>9</sup>

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1. Vol. I, p. 3.    2. Vol. I, p. 9.    3. p. 12.    4. p. 14.  
5. p. 22.    6. pp. 38-39.    7. p. 42.    8. p. 42.    cf. also  
p. 54.    9. p. 43.

Of mediaeval corruptions our author says "visiting the graves of the saints, kissing of relics, hearing of masses which avarice and superstition had invented" were introduced "while people were still taught that Christ is the only propitiation for sin, and by His Blood the guilt thereof is only washed away".<sup>1</sup> Then he goes on "this being still (i.e. in the reign of Kenneth) the doctrine of the Church", to show that gradually the purity of the Faith was being undermined by the aforementioned innovations which he terms "idle toys". This condemnation of the mediaeval system of Penance recurs in the account of the career of John Scot<sup>2</sup> who was by the clergy in 1539 suffered "to abuse the ignorant multitude, for that the opinion of purgatory, pardons, and prayers to saints .... was by this mean nourished amongst the people". This note is also struck in the account of the preaching of John Knox in St. Andrews in 1545, where the Pope and his followers "take upon them to mitigate the pains of souls in purgatory, and to release them by saying of masses, selling of pardons and indulgences, which none besides them ever did."<sup>3</sup>

Other examples might be cited, but enough has been given to show the anti-Roman temper of Spottiswoode. This never varies from his comments on the "rehallowing" of St. Giles in 1559 by the Bishop of Amiens<sup>4</sup> to his furtherance of the

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1. p. 56.    2. Vol. I, pp. 136-137.    3. p. 169.

4. p. 307.

enactments made against Papists in the Assembly of 1616<sup>1</sup> and it is regarded as the great blot on his normally mild and lenient administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland that he took so prominent a share in procuring the execution of the Jesuit John Ogilvie in 1615.<sup>2</sup>

On the positive side Spottiswoode is much more reticent. In his account of the Lollards of Kyle and Cunningham<sup>3</sup> he makes little comment but indicates general disapproval of their teachings, probably on political grounds, and although he gives the doctrinal charges against Patrick Hamilton<sup>4</sup> and Sir John Borthwick<sup>5</sup> he does not give his own views. Again when he gives the counts against John Rough and John Knox he animadverts only on the last point, that tithes do not necessarily appertain to Churchmen. Contemporary events may have influenced him to comment on this point as he probably wrote at a time when the tithe controversy was raging in the days of King Charles. On the other eight doctrinal points he says nothing.<sup>6</sup> From his story of Katherine Hamilton<sup>7</sup> one would infer that he maintained the dogma of Justification by faith as is obvious from his acceptance and approval of the various Scottish Confessions, and by the argument from silence we might assume his approval of the first eight points of the controversy between Rough and Knox on the one hand and John Major and the canons of St. Andrews on the other.<sup>8</sup> These condemn human headship of the

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1. Vol. III, pp. 235-6. 2. Grub. Vol. II, pp. 301-2.  
3. Vol. I, pp. 120-1. 4. Vol. I, pp. 124-5. 5. pp. 138-9.  
6. p. 170. 7. p. 130. 8. p. 170.

Church, the Pope, man-made religion, additions to or subtractions from the New Testament sacraments, the mass, purgatory, prayers for or to the dead, non preaching bishops. The appointment of Heaven for the faithful and Hell for the reprobate shows approval of Calvin's doctrine of predestination and election. For the rest we are left in the dark as that "deep, politic man" did not reveal his personal beliefs for the world to read and examine.

In view of what has been said it comes as rather a shock to find in "Analecta Scotica"<sup>1</sup> a letter from Lord Grange to Wodrow in 1728 accusing Spottiswoode of unfairness in his "History" and especially that the Archbishop palliates the "general bias shown to the Popish Earls" by King James. Such a statement makes one chary of accepting charges against Spottiswoode when made by his professed adversaries.

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1. pp. 376-7.

III.

SACRAMENTAL TEACHING.

In considering the position of Archbishop Spottiswoode relative to the generally accepted doctrinal standards of his age we are greatly handicapped by a lack of definite pronouncements by Spottiswoode himself. Even when such material is available, it must be used with considerable caution in view of the circumstances in which the pronouncement was made. Thus when we consider the sacramental teaching of Spottiswoode we seem to be on fairly safe ground as we have at our disposal the Sermon which he preached at the General Assembly held in Perth in August 1618. This sermon is mainly concerned with the Sacraments or allied subjects, but it is by no means to be regarded as a sure authority. It must not be forgotten that the Sermon is a piece of special pleading with one specific aim in view. The reason for calling this Assembly was to secure the assent of the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the land to certain articles put forward by King James and not accepted by the Church in Assembly at St. Andrews in the previous year. Consequently in his opening address, the preacher made a very tactful and diplomatic attempt to prepare the way for acceptance of the articles. In particular points,

we must beware of taking his words as they stand, but in general he would be unlikely to depart to any extent from the principles underlying his own belief.

The articles in question were: 1. Private Communion of the sick; 2. Kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion; 3. Private Baptism in time of necessity; 4. Confirmation of children; 5. Commemoration of the Birth, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord and of the descent of the Holy Ghost. In view of past experience, strong opposition to the acceptance of these articles was to be anticipated, so the Primate set himself to smooth the path as much as might be by showing: 1. that in the matter of rites and ceremonies each national Church has the authority and power to decide its own course of action; 2. that the matters proposed were in themselves "indifferent", involving no point of conscience or of dogma; 3. that in view of their origin (i.e. King James) they merited acceptance, and besides royalty and its authority the king, and so the articles, had much learning and sound theology; 4. that the articles were not irreligious nor idolatrous but consonant with both primitive Christianity and the teaching and aims of the first Reformers; 5. that if the articles were accepted the Church would be sure of royal favour and patronage and would avoid trouble for the future.



It is interesting to note that the preacher does not regard the articles as having doctrinal significance. This can scarcely be meant. The purpose is to decry the importance of what was before the Assembly. His words are "We ought to contend always for the Faith and that earnestly as St. Jude teacheth, not yielding to the Adversary in the substance of Religion one jot ..... but for matters of circumstance and ceremony, to make business, and as much ado, as if some main point of religion were questioned, it is to injure the truth of God".<sup>1</sup> Later he says "Some of the Articles strike upon the duties of our calling ..... others of them prescribe the observation of certaine things not in use with us .... and there is a fifth article that requires our accustomed manner of sitting at the Communion, to be changed in a more religious and reverend gesture of kneeling".<sup>2</sup>

Although Spottiswoode regards these matters as points of internal administration, as theological considerations are inevitably involved, he is forced to give expression to theological opinions when dealing with the questions at issue.

In general here as elsewhere Spottiswoode conforms to the Calvinist norm in his statements about the Sacraments. The Holy Communion is "the seal of God's promises and a special mean of binding up our communion with Christ."<sup>3</sup> This compares with the Aberdeen Confession on the Sacraments that they are

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1. Serm. pp. 67-8.      2. p. 73.      3. p. 74.

"certain visible seals of God's eternal Covenant ... to seal up our spiritual communion with Him", and the 1560 Confession statement that the participation in the sacraments is to seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise. "Salvation depends not upon the Sacrament"<sup>1</sup> but the Communion gives great comfort to those at the point of death, not superstitiously nor as a viaticum but as solace to those who desire it at the approach of death. The Aberdeen Confession says that the Sacraments have power to confirm faith, not of themselves or ex opere operato, and the original Confession implies the same when it refers to the Body and Blood of Christ being given as conferring prerogatives which are not given only at that time nor yet by the proper power and virtue of the Sacraments only, and to the Sacraments being rightly used. The Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation is rejected in the section which deals with kneeling at the reception of the Sacrament where it is expressly denied that there is a corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament as is done also in both Confessions. "He that adores Jesus Christ in the Sacrament does not adore that which the priest holds in his hands, but he adores Jesus Christ who is in Heaven".<sup>2</sup>

So also when he deals with Baptism and Confirmation the preacher is true to the Scottish ideas of the time. The First

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1. p. 74.      2. p. 79.

Book of Discipline speaks of "this gross error by which many are deceived, thinking that children be damned if they die without Baptism;" Spottiswoode says "we do not think Baptism absolutely necessary unto salvation, and the child that wants it upon a necessity inevitable nothing prejudiced that way",<sup>1</sup> and without encouraging "the Popish opinion of the necessity of Baptism" he continues "we have a commandment to Baptise, and this to us is a necessary duty".<sup>2</sup> As for Confirmation, it is "one of the most ancient customs of the Christian Church"<sup>3</sup> and "it is clear by all antiquity, that the power of confirming appertaineth ever to Bishops". But the laying on of hands is not regarded as an Apostolic bestowal of the Holy Ghost. The reason given for Confirmation being the function of the bishop is to show that bishops are set over the inferior clergy, but there seems to be a tacit admission that ordinary ministers also have power to confirm. The imposition of hands is regarded as a somewhat unenviable burden to the bishop, and is explained by a reference to St. Augustine as "a prayer upon those that hands are laid upon".

The observance of Holy Days is not conforming to Papistry. The Reformed Churches all observed some of the Feasts proposed, although in the passage of time some of these had been disregarded. The preacher cites the comments of

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1. p. 75.    2. p. 75.    3. p. 76.    4. p. 77.

some leading reformers on the point and concludes that as the civil power would ordain certain days to be regarded as holidays it was the duty of ministers to "labour by preaching to turn the people's idleness into godly exercises and business".<sup>1</sup> There is no reference to the action of the General Assembly which when approving the Second Helvetic Confession in 1566 made exception to the Holy Days mentioned as such in that document.

Throughout Spottiswoode bases his reasoning on primitive Christian practice, citing St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Tertullian, Eusebius, St. Jerome and he supports his arguments by quotations from leading figures of the Reformation on the Continent, Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Peter Martyr "an excellent witness for God's truth",<sup>2</sup> Peter du Moulin and others. He takes his stand on what the Reformers claimed for the truth of their doctrine in their appeal to the criterion of primitive Christian teaching.

To what has been said above it may be added that the foundation of Spottiswoode's theological beliefs is the Word of God by which doctrines may be tested. He speaks of "the Word from which we may not go", and adds "if [Councils] decree anything against Scripture it is not to be obeyed".<sup>3</sup> No additions to primitive teaching are admitted, and all Roman accretions are rejected. This conforms to normal post-Reformation theology in Scotland.

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1. p. 78.      2. p. 79.      3. p. 72.

From the above it seems clear that Archbishop Spottiswoode in his general theological standards was quite in harmony with contemporary Scottish opinion. Equally it is clear that he was out of harmony with the tone of what we may call Laudian teaching. In spirit, in temper, in ecclesiastical principles and in doctrinal viewpoint he is poles apart from say William Forbes, the first bishop of Edinburgh, and twenty years after his Perth oration, the Primate was completely out of his element in the affairs of the new code of Canons, the new Service Book, the principles in worship and in doctrine which these represented, and the type of mind which conceived and the methods which carried through these projects.

There is nothing in general doctrine or sacramental teaching which justifies the suspicion of heterodoxy on the part of Spottiswoode. Andrew Melville was now far distant in more senses than one, but the impression of his teaching imprinted on the mind of his pupil of over thirty years ago was not yet effaced, nor was it, in the circumstances, likely to be.

IV.

CHURCH POLITY AND ORDERS.

The Reformation in Scotland, following a more violent course than in England, showed in the sixteenth century results which in England did not come to the front until the seventeenth. The first generation of Scottish Reformers derived their inspiration mainly from Switzerland, and their thought was coloured by their sojourn in the Swiss cantons. One result was to encourage in Church matters a sort of political liberalism. They saw the Swiss free to embrace the new teaching in contrast to the Scots whose royal head was resolutely opposed to Reform. John Knox, Goodman, Andrew Melville were at times virtually republican in outlook, and their democratic principles in politics affected their views on religion almost as much as their views on religion affected their political outlook, Especially is this noticeable in the important question of Church government. Thus although Knox does not seem to have condemned Episcopacy as such, and accepted the results of the Convention of Leith, there seems to be little doubt that his own preference was for Presbyterianism with its resultant removal of individuals from central positions of authority and from posts which permitted

the exercise of arbitrary power.

This tendency is apparent in the Book of Discipline and has its origin in the emphasis laid by the Reformers on the majesty, power and holiness of God in contrast with the worthlessness of man, and his complete dependence upon God.

Curiously enough many of the Swiss Reformers, reared in democratic traditions, had no such idea and the letters from them published from the Archives of Zurich encourage Grindal, Jewel, Parkhurst, Sandys and others of a Puritanic inclination to continue as prelates and maintain the proper administration of their dioceses.<sup>1</sup>

The Second Book of Discipline marks a great step forward in ecclesiastical organisation. As in the first Book, the people are recognised as the earthly source of ecclesiastical power, but now instead of their exercising that power themselves it is to be administered for (and if necessary against) them by a system of church courts to a great extent independent of the civil power, which is to be employed as an instrument for enforcing the decrees of the spiritual estate. Also the ministry has a higher status than under the former regime. Ministers are to be duly ordained to their office by the imposition of hands, and their power was greatly increased by the gradual establishment of presbyteries through-

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1. cf. letters civ, cv. also xcvi.

out the country. The acceptance of the Presbyterian polity by Parliament in 1592 marks the triumph of the aims of Andrew Melville and his associates. The act confirming the findings of the General Assembly was a full and express guarantee of the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. The Book of Discipline and the Act of 1592 proclaimed the "Divine Right" of Presbytery.

When John Spottiswoode, parson at Calder was appointed to be Archbishop of Glasgow in 1604, it was the intention of King James that the newly appointed prelate should be the means to undermine and overthrow presbyterial democracy and set up in its place monarchical episcopacy as being more in line with royal government. The manner of his proceeding is properly discussed under the heading of "Churchmanship", but the personal views which underlay the devices employed are worthy of consideration, and they have been preserved for us in the only work published by Spottiswoode himself, "Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae", an answer to a pamphlet by Calderwood. Other notices are to be found in his Sermon to the Perth Assembly and in his "History of the Church of Scotland", but such indications are reflected in the main source of information the "Refutatio". This work, "writ", in Wodrow's phrase, "in a neat handsome Latin style" was called forth by a pamphlet by Calderwood directed to the Synod of Dort



asserting that the Reformation in Scotland was presbyterian in character.

The dedication to Prince Charles gives the course of the argument. The "veteris politiae forma" was meant to be retained at the Reformation and it was not until "quindecim post, aut sedecim fere annis .... emergerunt homines inquieti qui .... obtentu abusuum muneris Episcopalis, munus ipsum tollere, in eiusque locum popolare ministrorum imperium substituere, sunt aggressi".<sup>1</sup>

In the treatise itself Spottiswoode points out that Superintendents were appointed from the first in the Reformed Church and claims that these were really a continuation of episcopal government. "Unde perspicuum cuivis esse potest, vindices fidei, praesulum functionem necessariam et utilem indicasse".<sup>2</sup> He works through the proceedings of various Assemblies on this subject, showing that not until the return of Andrew Melville, "disciplinae Genevensis institutis imbutus", was there any question of setting up conciliar government in the Church, and he even says of the Negative Confession of 1580 "non alia disciplina intelligenda venit, quam tum publice recepta Episcoporum nimirum, et Superintendentium gubernatio".<sup>3</sup> After tracing the course of events by which Episcopacy was overthrown and then restored he shows the

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1. Refutatio, p. 33.      2. p. 36      3. p. 46.

legality of the restoration and that it was the same Church as before. "Nec alios fidei articulos novimus, quam qui symbolo continentur, quo omnes nostrae Confessiones sunt dirigendae."<sup>1</sup>

In his Sermon at Perth, the Primate had touched on the government and rights of the Church; the power of altering, adding or removing ceremonies remains with each Church, and once a certain course has been determined by authority it is the duty of all to conform. But this does not imply infallibility on the part of Church governors, and Councils may err. The test of truth or error is the Bible, and rites and ceremonies not repugnant to Scripture are to be practised if enjoined by lawful authority, i.e. the duly appointed governors of the Church. In this sentiment all would have concurred. The real quarrel, however lay elsewhere; in the attempt by King James to make the Scottish Church not only uniform with the Church of England, but also a department of national administration. In fact two distinct principles were at variance, directed to carrying out diametrically opposed ideas by exactly the same means, and the church courts became a battle ground, political and judicial on which were fought out the conflicts of the opposed principles. On the one side were the Presbyterians, determined to enforce their views on all, and on the other side the royal supporters, headed by

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1. p. 61.

Spottiswoode, were equally decided that the royal authority be maintained in the Councils of the Church. The Primate holds that decrees of the civil power, if not contrary to the Word of God, are to be obeyed by Churchmen. He also asserts the principle that the king is the source of all authority in the land. This last conception was about to sustain a rude shock from which it never recovered.

It is noteworthy that questions about the form of Church government imply for Spottiswoode no doctrinal considerations. They are matters of expediency and internal discipline and administration. There is no recognition of a divine right for either Episcopacy or Presbytery. In this Spottiswoode was in line with contemporary Scottish thought, and it is relevant to mention the attitude of his brother James, Bishop of Clogher. When urged to subscribe the Covenant he refused to do so and in 1642 he gave his reasons for his refusals in a document printed in the account of his life by Father Hay included in the Spottiswoode Miscellany (Vol. I). Speaking of the Churches of England and Scotland, the Bishop says "Neither do I think there be any essential difference in doctrine betwixt these two Churches ..... The doctrine, then, of both Churches being one and the same".<sup>1</sup> And later he says "people are startled with those names of Prelacy, Hierarchy, Episcopacy. Now, you know Prelacy in the original imports nothing but lawful

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1. p. 155.

pre-eminence; Episcopacy nothing but right overseeing".<sup>1</sup> His elder brother would have concurred.

We must remember in considering such questions that we are dealing with the seventeenth century. In those days there was little question of reunion or oecumenical Councils. The emphasis was on something far different.

The ministry of the Reformed Church of Scotland was not finally settled until the Revolution settlement of 1689. The First and Second Book of Discipline had never been accepted by Parliament, and it was open to question what system of ministry was to be understood. In his article on "Scotland's Supplication and Complaint" in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries 1925-6, Dr. Hay Fleming says "neither in the Confession of Faith nor in the First Book of Discipline, nor in the Book of Common Order is Prelacy expressly condemned; but they leave no room for it",<sup>2</sup> and later he points to the approval given by the General Assembly in 1566 to the Second Helvetic Confession, in Chapter 18 of which it is stated that Bishops and presbyters were originally the same in office and that all ministers are equal in power and commission.<sup>3</sup> This is true enough but it must not be forgotten that many decisions of the early Assemblies are contradictory. When in 1592, Parliament accepted the ratification of the Acts of the General Assembly

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1. p. 158.      2. 314.      3. 318.

which established the Presbyterian system, the Book of Discipline was ignored, and the civil rights of bishops and other prelates were continued, the rights of Presbyteries regarding collation to benefices were subject to the proviso that they were to accept any qualified minister presented by the patrons and in that same Parliament men sat with the title of Bishop, Abbot, Prior.

Within a very short time the question was reopened. If the Spiritual Estate were to be represented in Parliament, their representatives should be churchmen. If laymen were to hold titles of dignity in the Church, were they to draw revenues from the Church? So when in 1600 commissioners to Parliament were appointed, James took the opportunity to promote to vacant sees, ministers who were named as commissioners. Thus there developed fresh ground for controversy, but throughout the battle of words and ideas, Archbishop Spottiswoode was at one with his contemporaries in that neither he nor they attached doctrinal significance to what they held to be matters of expediency. If anything Spottiswoode seems to have held a lower view of ordination than that of Andrew Melville who insisted on due investiture of ministers with imposition of hands, and who had high views of the importance and dignity of the ministerial office. In a sermon to his Diocesan Synod at Edinburgh in October, 1619, the Archbishop's text was

Hebrews 13<sup>17</sup> "Obey them that have the rule over you", and he said "Obedience to Pastors was necessary and they were to be revered and obeyed, and their flocks ought to submit themselves to their judgments in matters spiritual, where the Word of God is not expressly in the contrary, otherwise there would be no order in the Kirk but great confusion and all authority would be contemned".<sup>1</sup> But here the Pastors are probably the Bishops and the aim was to further conformity to the resolutions of the Perth Assembly of the previous year.

In his "History", Spottiswoode states concerning the Episcopate that all bishops and not merely the Pope are successors to the Apostles,<sup>2</sup> and he maintains that Buchanan misrepresents the true position where he tries to show that there were no bishops in Scotland at the time of the introduction of Christianity,<sup>3</sup> while at the end of his life in his will he states "touching the government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the government Episcopal is the only right and Apostolic form" but immediately goes on "Parity among ministers is the breeder of confusion" thus showing that his main concern was with the maintenance of good order. His views on the Apostolic Succession of bishops do not seem to have been either very definite or strongly held. Although his main object in undertaking the compilation of a history .

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1. Calderwood VII, p. 395.

2. Vol. I, p. 38.

3. p. 13.

of the Church is to contend for Episcopacy against Presbyterianism and to stress the orderliness antiquity and Scriptural quality of Episcopacy, the Archbishop seems to hold the view that Episcopacy or otherwise is a question of administration and not of dogma. When in 1610 Spottiswoode was consecrated bishop along with Lamb of Brechin and Hamilton of Galloway, he maintained the validity of his and their Presbyterian orders and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft) upheld his contention. On their return to Scotland, the new prelates took part in the consecration of other of the Scottish bishops, but by no one was it thought necessary to reordain ministers in Presbyterian orders.

A good example of the view generally taken of orders is afforded by the example of Dr. John Forbes. While his father, Patrick was Bishop of Aberdeen, John was, in 1619, ordained at Middleburgh in the Presbyterian manner by his uncle John, exiled from Alford, and the Presbytery there. After the triumph of the Covenanters, Dr. John in Presbyterian orders was deprived of his post because he would not abjure Episcopacy. His cousin Patrick, son of the exiled John, was in 1662 made bishop of Caithness.

Although Spottiswoode disapproved of lay elders, here again his views were political rather than doctrinal, at least in substance. Although he maintains that lay elders are

unknown alike to Scripture and antiquity, the real (unacknowledged) grounds of his opposition seem to be that such elders, representing the most substantial and influential section of the population, tended to strive for the increase of their own power and authority and so become forceful opponents of the royal policy in matters which had little to do with the Church. In his will the Archbishop says, "as for these ruling elders, as they are a mere human device, so will they prove the ruin both of Church and Estate". There is nothing in his writings to compare with, say the definite and uncompromising statement of Archbishop Adamson in 1584. Spottiswoode does not even seem to have opposed the characteristic feature of Presbyterianism, the Presbytery. He did not like it, and disapproved of much of which certain Presbyteries did, and he would have liked to reduce the scope of their activities very considerably, but under his regime, Presbyteries continued as an integral part of the ecclesiastical system.

The trend of Spottiswoode's thought on the Church and Ministry is revealed in the "Refutatio" already mentioned. The main argument is historical not doctrinal, designed to show that Presbyteries are a late development in the Scottish Reformation, and no where does he insist on anything remotely resembling a "ius divinum" for the Episcopate. Although familiar with St. Cyprian's works he makes no use of the Cyprianic argument.



His aim is to show that the first Reformers in Scotland were not opposed to the Episcopal system, but sought to maintain it and he instances the appointment and functioning of Superintendents recording some of their actions and sayings. He makes no attempt to show the Episcopate as an essential part of the Catholic Christian Church, and as the repository of the Holy Spirit. Church government, Papal, Episcopal, Presbyterian was a matter for each Church to arrange for itself on a par with questions of kneeling at Holy Communion or observing Holy Days. This was quite in keeping with Scottish thought and practice at the time which drew a distinction between Faith and Orders. Archbishop John in his "History" preserves a saying of Superintendent John which well illustrates this attitude; "the doctrine we profess is good, but the old policy was undoubtedly the better."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Vol. 2, p. 337.

V.

GENERAL ORTHODOXY OF SPOTTISWOODE.

At this distance of time it is impossible to do more than give general indications of doctrinal views such as those already recorded. John Spottiswoode is not a great figure in the development of theology and history of the progress of dogma. In fact he generally avoids anything that could be termed definite pronouncements on points of doctrine. Thus when John Durie, urgently desirous of reconciling the various warring sects of Protestantism, applied to the Primate for his views, Spottiswoode referred the enquiry to the Aberdeen Doctors, who, after careful consideration, issued a statement of their views. This statement was submitted by Durie to a convention of Swedish clergy in the name of the Rev. Archbishop of St. Andrew's and of the Faculty of Theology. This might seem to show some modification of Calvinist dogma on the part of Spottiswoode, as the opinion of the Doctors is rather in accord with the liberalising trend of Arminius. A distinction is drawn between consent and concord, and tolerance is urged for all that is not fundamental to Christian belief. Fundamental to Christianity are "those heads of Christian doctrine which are necessary to be known and believed by all the faithful for obtaining eternal salvation in Christ, and without a belief in which no one shall be saved". Those fundamental doctrines,

however, are not specified.

Regarding the Eucharist they hold that "there is shown to the faithful a communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, not fictitious nor shadowy but real and substantial" and those who partake "in reality feed on the flesh and blood of Christ". On the questions of Predestination, Grace and Free Will they suggest a concord of the views of Scripture, the African and Gallican Councils, St. Augustine and Luther. Such a synthesis would keep the Church "free from taint of fundamental error".

Although Calvin himself might have approved of this at least in part, and although it has affinities with the teaching of Robert Bruce, it was not congenial to the rather exclusive temper of the Scottish Covenanters who would have regarded the latter part as too accommodating. The Eucharistic teaching is Calvinist. Bruce had said on the Eucharist. "It is as impossible to thee to be fed up on the body of Christ, and to get thy health of the blood of Christ, except thou first eat His body and drink his blood. Then ye see that the thing signified is not the fruit so much as the body and blood of Christ Jesus".<sup>1</sup> But anything emanating from such source as Aberdeen or St. Andrews in 1637 was suspect, and the application of Calvinism was now much in advance of what Calvin had taught. The liberalism of the Aberdeen statement would not

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1. Sermon, p. 40.

commend itself in Scotland generally at the time, but it was an Irenicum, and to the harassed Primate anything that would tend to reconcile diverging groups would be welcome for its own sake, and if successful might be used with effect at home.

When we consider the Prayer Book of 1637, we need not conclude that Spottiswoode has abandoned Calvinist Protestantism for Laudian Catholicism. The new liturgy marks a complete change in worship from anything Scotland had known for almost a century. There is little support for Calvinist doctrine in this book, and although covenanting allegations of Popery and Arminianism are not well founded, the Catholic basis of the book is unmistakable. Are we then to assume that Spottiswoode is now converted to the Laudian views? Surely not: a series of circumstances combined to compel his acquiescence in "Laud's Liturgy", without necessarily embracing Laud's theological or ecclesiastical principles.

1. We must remember Spottiswoode's relation to the civil power. He had been appointed Chancellor in January, 1635. As such and especially in view of his previous connections with the civil authority, it was his duty to support by all means in his power whatever was introduced by royal authority. In exactly the same way Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen, a thorough Calvinist in theology, by no means favourable to innovations in Church matters, enforced

conformity because Authority had decreed a certain course of action.

2. The younger bishops, supported and encouraged by Laud, advocated the Service Book, and as so often happens in history, a resolute minority, capably led, prevailed. Also Bishop Maxwell of Ross had great influence over the Primate who entertained a very high opinion of the talents and leadership of the younger prelate, and Maxwell was a strong advocate of the Liturgy in the shaping of which he had a fair share, at least in the early days of the work.

3. Spottiswoode was now a rather isolated figure. By the death of Patrick Forbes in 1635 he had lost a tried and valued friend to whom he could always turn for help and advice, and on whose judgment he could at all times rely. His letters to Dr. John Forbes, included in the "Funerals" of Bishop Forbes show not only his own grievous personal loss, but also a foreboding of evils to come. Only Bellenden and Lindsay of the old prelates were left and Bellenden was out of favour and Lindsay was inclined to the views of Laud. Now an old man of seventy two, out of his depth in the turmoil of ecclesiastical intrigue emanating from London, the Primate was also out of touch and sympathy with current trends of thought. The anti-Puritan reaction in England was in full flood and the younger Scottish prelates were of the new school of thought.

4. Spottiswoode had now his duties as Chancellor added to the very great burden and responsibility of guiding the affairs of the Church. Pressure of state business added to the accumulation of ecclesiastical matters and combined with the growing hostility of the nobility alienated by the promotion of clerics to high office of state and alarmed by the fear of a revocation of the ancient patrimony of the Church, united to bear down the aging Primate under a load too great for his advancing years to bear with success.

Forced into an untenable position by his fatal weakness of character, Spottiswoode allowed events to take their course, striving the while to gain time and put off the day of decision. But once the issue of the Liturgy had been decided, Spottiswoode, Chancellor as well as Archbishop and Primate, must do all in his power to further the wishes and execute the commands of his royal master. But his own views had not changed from what they had been thirty years before. He was very lukewarm for the book and never wanted it, and after its unfortunate reception he was foremost in procuring its surcease and showed considerable reluctance to have more to do with the ill-starred enterprise. Circumstances had compelled his outward approval, but it is inconceivable that there could have been much commendation for a Service Book which by its general tone and doctrinal basis was so at variance with all that Archbishop Spottiswoode had ever taught or thought.

When in consequence of the uproar of 1637 and the ensuing National Covenant a General Assembly was held in the Cathedral of Glasgow in 1638, it was obvious that the bishops would fare badly at the hands of the now dominant party, and so it proved. Here we need consider only the doctrinal part of the indictment, the "preaching of Arminianism and Papistical doctrine". This was a general charge against all the bishops, but as it forms part of the reasons for the excommunication of Spottiswoode, it must be considered here.

The proceedings of this famous or infamous Assembly must be treated with considerable reserve in what relates to the Bishops or their supporters. By some of the Covenanters the Book of Common Prayer of 1552 was regarded as furthering Arminianism or even Popery. Consequently it is not surprising to find that Robert Baillie devoted (or, according to one's views, wasted) much ingenuity and time to discovering many points of Popery in the Service Book of 1637. When further it is remembered that Baillie was more moderately minded than most Covenanters we must be doubly careful of the findings of the Assembly. In any time of fierce civil and religious controversy, scruples are not allowed too free play, and in 1638 as in 1938 or 1948 truth is often distorted or misrepresented for the sake of gaining some party advantage.

The charge of Popery can be dismissed at once. No one who reads Archbishop Spottiswoode's "History of the Church of

Scotland" can entertain such an opinion, and the whole tenour of his life and work gives the lie to the charge. In fact not one of the condemned Bishops nor any of the deprived parish clergy ever turned to the Roman communion.

The mention of Arminianism in the official charge seems to be the first hint of doctrinal unorthodoxy on the part of Spottiswoode. The accusation seems to be unfounded. The Arminian controversy had its origin in an intellectual and spiritual reaction from the hard, uncompromising Calvinistic system which had hitherto prevailed over the greater part of Western Protestantism. Thinkers of a liberal cast of mind found that for the fixed system of mediaeval theology cramping the expression of free thought and narrowly defining orthodoxy, there had been substituted an equally rigid system, equally repressive of freedom of intellectual speculation and as hostile as its predecessor to deviations from the accepted canon.

The tide had begun to turn in England with the publication of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity". Bishop Launcelot Andrewes of Ely represented the first real reaction in the English Episcopate. Then came Montague's "New Gag for an old Goose" in 1622 followed by "Apello Caesarem" in 1625. In spite of the hostility aroused by these works, the author was appointed to the See of Chichester in 1628. Cosin, then



Dean of Durham under the likeminded Bishop Neile, published his "Devotions" in 1627, and the rapid advancement of William Laud marked the triumph of anti-Calvinism in England. This was a great change from the days when Professor Whitaker and Archbishop Whitgift drew up the Lambeth Articles in an attempt to crush at the outset the rising reaction against the dominant school of thought at Cambridge University. But the new movement had not yet affected the laity to any great extent, who were easily aroused to suspicion and hostility by the call of "Popery", and now a new catch-word prevailed among Puritans, "Arminianism", which in many cases meant nothing more than that with which the Puritans did not see eye to eye.

The reaction referred to had not made much headway among the clergy in Scotland, Annand and some few more of like mind were a small minority, but the latest elevations to the Episcopate, Whiteford, Sydserf and Wedderburn were all of Laud's way of thinking, and as Laud was regarded with something more than suspicion by many Scottish ministers, that aversion was applied to all who were, rightly or no, regarded as his creatures

The Arminian controversy itself had been decided (but not ended) by the Synod of Dort, but the liberal spirit of enquiry and discussion set free by Arminius and his followers was not to be confined by Confessions or Articles of Religion, and the questionings went on. Some of the newly regained freedom



found expression in the work of the celebrated Aberdeen Doctors, and in reaction against the ever closing bondage of strict inelastic interpretation of Calvinist doctrine in Scotland a leavening of Arminianism permeated much of their thought. Some of the new Scottish Bishops were almost certainly affected, and this added to the atmosphere of hostility which surrounded and still surrounds them. But Principal Lee is betrayed into an extreme position when he says in his "Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland",<sup>1</sup> "In the northern universities, the works of Arminius supplanted the Institutes of Calvin and Dr. Forbes of Aberdeen and Dr. Wedderburn of St. Andrews seemed to vie with each other in courting the patronage of the King of Great Britain and the Bishop of London by supporting with equal zeal the Five Articles of Perth and the Five Arminian points". This is reductio ad absurdum, and is totally untrue of both scholars. Not only so but it makes utter nonsense of the panel set up by the General Assembly to report on Dr. Forbes's doctrine which cleared him of Arminianism. The fact that Principal Lee could make such a statement is a token of the prejudice which still is to be met in Scotland in discussions on the subject. At the other extreme in her book on "The Scotland of the reign of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars", Dr. Mure Mackenzie is equally wide of the mark when she

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1. Vol. II, pp. 226-7.

speaks of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Aberdeen being a supporter of Arminianism.

However that might be Archbishop Spottiswoode, in the words of Principal Watt (Recalling the Scottish Covenants<sup>1</sup>) "too deeply attached to the Scottish tradition" and schooled in the old ways, does not seem to have been much affected. Wodrow at least, writing in more peaceful times when the controversy was a thing of the past states expressly that the Primate does not appear to have favoured Arminianism,<sup>2</sup> and as Wodrow was far from favourable to the cause of the Archbishop we may confidently leave the last word on the subject with the minister of Eaglesham.

In fine we may with considerable assurance say that during the term of his Archiepiscopate, Spottiswoode did not stray far from the beaten track of Calvinist orthodoxy. As late as 1638 when all was lost, there came his proposed explanation of the National Covenant, given by Burnet and also by Peterkin in his "Records of the Kirk of Scotland".<sup>3</sup> Here the exiled prelate speaks in terms similar to those of 1618. He refers to the "maintaining of true religion" and to "the fears we have, not without cause (as we think) conceived of introducing in this Church another form of Worship than what we have been accustomed with", and he talks of "satisfying our

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1. p. 51.      2. Life p. 498.      3. Vol. I, p. 69.

just grievances, and the settling of a constant and solid order to be kept in all time coming". Here he seems not to speak with his tongue in his cheek, but in Wodrow's phrase to have "returned to his cool and first sentiments".

If towards the close of his official career he may have appeared to favour, or at least countenance, some deviations from the path of strict orthodoxy, such divagations are in no way indicative of any change in his own theological views. A Calvinist in the beginning he remained a Calvinist to the end, although in some ways he may have conducted himself, in certain respects at least, rather contrary to the accepted canons of behaviour as defined by the practitioners of that austere code.

VI.

CONCLUSION.

This section dealing with the influence of Archbishop Spottiswoode on the development of Theology might well resemble the celebrated chapter on "Snakes in Ireland". If we ask "what influence did Spottiswoode exert on the thought of Scotland?" The answer is "Practically none". He was not a professed theologian, and apart from his "Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae" he took no part in the pamphlet war of his time. On Bishop David Lindsay devolved the role of protagonist on the episcopal side. Spottiswoode contributed nothing to contemporary disputes on theological principles. Calvinism prevailed in Scotland for many years to come, but not because Spottiswoode was a Calvinist, as on that system he exerted not the slightest influence. The Aberdeen Confession with which his name is linked soon disappeared from view, and his treatise on Church government was ignored by subsequent disputants. He contributed nothing to the shaping of dogma in Scotland even in a negative direction. In one way only may he be said to have had some constructive influence, albeit indirectly and even inadvertently and that is in the later developments of the theology of Scottish Episcopalians in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was then that the noble Liturgy of 1637 began to be fully appreciated and to have

an influence commensurate with its liturgical merits, an influence which has, directly or indirectly, spread to many parts of the world and has made an ineradicable impression on the Eucharistic faith and practice of Anglicanism both in the Commonwealth and in the United States of America. It is rather the irony of fate that the main influence exerted on theology by Archbishop Spottiswoode is an influence which both in its origins and in its results would almost certainly have been deprecated by the Archbishop himself.

ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE AS HISTORIAN.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

There is perhaps little that is new to be said about John Spottiswoode in the rôle of historian. The ground has been worked over several times, and it is unlikely that much fresh information will come to light about the main events he records. Students of the post-Reformation period in Scotland are familiar with the events recorded and the Archbishop's treatment of these. But if little fresh is to be discovered, the old material may be examined from a standpoint rather different from the usual. This new view of an old subject may have its uses, and may lead to a reconsideration of previously accepted ideas.

Before commencing our study of the subject itself, there are some points which we must take into consideration. Firstly we must set aside some at least of our modern notions when we are dealing with seventeenth century happenings. So in any assessment of the value of John Spottiswoode as a historian we must bear in mind that he is a product of sixteenth century Scotland writing in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. It is useless to look for and misleading to expect the virtues of Victorian England or modern dispassionate research in one who lived in violent and

turbulent times and who played an active and prominent part in many of the events which he records. The standard of comparison is not Grub, Stubbs or Lindsay, but Knox Calderwood and Row. These latter were either contemporaries of our author or like him played a part in the episodes they record. They also like Spottiswoode, were not far removed in time from the most part of the period of which they treat, and like him they are imbued with a definite purpose, viz: to present from the records available their particular party viewpoint. We must never forget that, if Spottiswoode is contending for Episcopacy, Calderwood and Row are equally contending for Presbyterianism. How do they compare with each other?

Secondly there is to be taken into account what we may term, the standpoint of History. We must assess Spottiswoode and his work in as it were the abstract. "Facts are the dross of History," writes Macaulay, "It is from the abstract truth which interpenetrates them that the mass derives its value."<sup>1</sup> At the bar of History tested by Truth, how does our author stand?

Thirdly we must take into account what Spottiswoode in his Preface to the "History of the Church of Scotland" advances as a claim: "I have followed the truth and studied to observe the laws of History." Here we have a definite

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1. Works Vol. V, p. 131.



appeal to the judgment of posterity, and here also we have a starting point. Is the story told by the writer true? It is obviously different in many respects from that of, say, Calderwood. Which, if either, gives the true account? In his lecture on the "Study of History", Lord Acton observes that, "a historian has to be treated as a witness, and not believed unless his sincerity is established."<sup>1</sup> From a historian then we look for sincerity and truth, but it is to be noted that we are dealing with historical truth, and that truth is more and greater than any series of facts, the "dross of history." Macaulay is himself a famous, or it may be notorious, example of his own theory in operation, but he can enlist on his side the powerful support of Lord Acton, who says, "The main thing to learn is not the art of accumulating material, but the sublimer art of investigating it, of discerning truth from falsehood, and certainty from doubt."<sup>2</sup> The criterion then is not to be any number of facts so much as the use to be made of these. Many books on history reproduce multitudes of facts, and whether they be "cheils that winna ding" or no, the net result is a dull catalogue. But History itself is never dull. Pericles may never have spoken his great eulogy of Athens and democracy, but in those words

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1. p. 42.

2. p. 40.

Thucydides reveals more of Athens and all that Athens represents than he could have done in a thousand factual details. The opening chapters of Genesis reveal more of Man than the investigations of thousands of scientific experts have yet told us: "Man became a living soul." In some cases the facts may even hinder our appreciation of the truth contained in them. We may know all the details of the great march of Marlborough to Blenheim and his operations there, but the simplicity of the sequence of events conceals a very subtle plan of campaign, very minute attention to details of administration and a considerable amount of previous military training and experience.

What has been said recalls the dictum of a famous pianist that in a concerto he played enough wrong notes to produce another concerto; an exaggeration, but pointing to the same end, namely that minute details are less important than the general effect.

Thus we realise the truth contained in the aphorisms of the two noble historians. The facts of the case are to be investigated, and after investigation they are to be presented in their real significance. The "abstract truth" is to be revealed. Note the phrase "abstract truth." However, abstract the result of the investigation it must result in or lead to truth. Facts are facts, and deductions or statements

drawn from the facts must never distort them, Interpretation is neither ignoring nor misrepresenting. The function of the historian is "discerning truth from falsehood," and whatever liberties he may take, he must not make free with Truth.

Now how does this affect our valuation of the worth of Archbishop Spottiswoode as a historian. The Right Hon. Tom Johnston has recently said, "The history of Scotland needs to be written". There is a great deal of truth in that utterance. Much of what passes for history in Scotland is far from historical. There are numerous good stories which most pupils at our schools learn: Bruce and the spider at Rathlin; Lady Catherine Douglas barring the door with her arm to detain the assassins of James I; Archibald Bell-the-cat; Jenny Geddes and her stool; the signing of the National Covenant in the Churchyard at Greyfriars; the shooting of Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie with a silver bullet and so on. This popular history does not always square with the known facts, but it has obtained such a firm hold on the imagination of the people of Scotland that it has become part of our national heritage. To the generality of Scotland, John Knox began and completed the Reformation in Scotland, established the Presbyterian system of Church government, instituted universal education and a love of democracy among the people of Scotland, and was also the first historian of our nation. This is not quite in

accordance with historical truth, but it is widely accepted. "1066 and All That" is more than a brilliant skit, it is also an indictment of the methods of teaching history in schools and of the history that is taught, and it applies to Scotland no less than to England.

Such traditional history is now being assailed and new views are being brought forward and maintained. This is a good thing in many ways, as whether the new approach is right or wrong, it has the virtue of requiring from those who uphold orthodox tradition a restatement of the facts on which they base their findings, with perhaps a reinterpretation of these facts, and at least a reconsideration of the past is necessary to refute the new opinion or re-establish the old. History is never static as it continues to be made each day, and a new age with new ideas requires new methods, with perhaps a new valuation of the past.

The aim of this present study is not to attack any particular system of ecclesiastical organisation or to maintain any special view of our past history. The writer is a convinced Episcopalian by birth and upbringing and is therefore inevitably predisposed to the construction of the past most favourable to that polity. He also believes that Presbyterian dominance in Scotland for the last two and a half centuries has given currency to a particular interpretation of the past and has tended to gloss over certain aspects of that

past which may be susceptible of another interpretation. There are two sides to every question and in Scotland the tendency has been, quite naturally, to favour the Presbyterian point of view, but there is another side which also deserves to be considered, the side favoured by Spottiswoode. In this study perhaps something of general value may result. In any case the object is not the scoring of debating points or maintaining any party view, but the search for that truth which interpenetrates the events of a stormy and dark period of our national history.

## II.

### THE PURPOSE OF SPOTTISWOODE'S HISTORY.

Before actually considering the "History of the Church of Scotland," written by John Spottiswoode, it would be well to give some prior consideration to his object in undertaking the task. The laborious collection of masses of factual details, the verification of authorities, the critical checking of their authenticity and reliability is a comparatively modern development. The historian of today is as much a scientist as anyone can be, and history is treated rather as a science, the facts are collected, collated and critically examined and a dispassionate assessment of long past events is made. But not so long ago History was an art. Facts were not ignored, but a personal interpretation of them was considered to be of greater importance than a detailing of events. This school of historians produced great writers such as Gibbon, Lord Macaulay, Hallam, and although we may not agree with their findings we must agree that interest was maintained and history was made to live. This tradition is by no means dead and it has gained considerable impulse in recent years. Dr. Agnes Mure Mackenzie in a whole series of works has tried to recapture some of the attitude of the great ones of the past, although so far she seems to show little of their genius. In a rather different style, Principal Watt's "Recalling the Scottish

Covenants" is a spirited restatement of traditional views of the type attacked by Dr. Mackenzie. In both instances the personality and even it may be prejudices of both writers are apparent throughout and there is no cold blooded analysis unfeelingly pronounced. We may not accept the conclusions reached, but it is refreshing to study works in which interest is kept alive.

In the seventeenth century, however, twentieth century ideas did not exist. All history of this age is written with a very definite purpose, a purpose which is very obvious from their works even when we do not know, as we often do, the actual circumstances which impelled the historians to undertake their task. Thus John Row tells us that he wrote his account of events from 1558 to 1637 at the instance of several of his younger brother ministers, and the general Assembly gave official recognition to Calderwood's work which he had undertaken in order to put the case for Presbyterianism on permanent record.

Similarly Archbishop Spottiswoode had a definite aim in view in compiling his "History of the Church of Scotland." The work originated in an injunction of King James, who realised that the Primate was possessed of such talents as fitted him for such an undertaking, and Spottiswoode himself gives the considerations which attracted him to such a task. In an

"Address to the Reader" prefixed to the oldest manuscript of the History and printed for the first time in Bishop Russell's edition<sup>1</sup> the author writes, "Men shall see that the government of the Church by Bishops was not an invention of Antichrist, nor yet rejected of our Reformers ..... they shall see ..... true antiquity to be on our side, and that we are the same Church, professing the same faith which our fathers were taught at first," and he adds, "we are not a new Church, but one truly Apostolical, we can derive the doctrine we profess from the Apostles of our Lord, and from their next successors."

It is obvious therefore that we must not expect to find an impartial judicial temper in the works of seventeenth century historians, and that is very apparent to anyone who reads even a little of their writings. Calderwood and Row were very markedly contending for Presbyterianism and Spottiswoode was, as he says, as definitely contending for Episcopacy. Their labours in the wider sphere as recorders of history was an extension of the contemporary pamphlet war which is so notable a feature of the age, and curiously enough the ammunition of both sides is drawn from almost the same sources, contemporary and past records of Church and State.

One feature which distinguishes Spottiswoode from his contemporaries is the attention that he gives to the ancient

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1. Introduction, Vol. I, p. XXIV.



and also to the mediaeval Church. Presbyterian historians of the time were by no means ignorant of early Church history, but in their works they pay little heed to the origins of Christianity in Scotland, and the mediaeval period was to them an era of utter darkness which they disregard. Row and Scot both confine their attention to the Post-Reformation Church, John Knox begins at the Lollards, but his chief concern is to give a history of the course of the Reformation and the heretics of the days of James I are mentioned merely because they opposed the mediaeval Church. To all these "Religion" came to Scotland with the Reformation. Spottiswoode, however, as one might expect "thought it meet to begin at the time in which this kingdom did first receive the Christian faith," and he takes as his starting point the earliest legends of Christianity in Scotland in the first and second centuries. This is significant. It is his purpose to show that Episcopacy was a lawful and indeed original form of Church government in Scotland, and the inference is that the Reformation was a Reformation and not a fresh start "de novo." This he implies in the dedicatory epistle to King Charles: "Fourteen hundred years and above ..... there hath not been wanting in the royal stock a most kind nursing father to this Church."

The method employed is to trace the course of events

from the beginning up to the death of King James VI in 1625. Of the seven books into which the History is divided, the first gives some account of the introduction of the Christian faith into Scotland and continues the story up to the days of Kenneth Macalpin; the second book, a link between the Celtic Church and the Reformation consists of a register of the Bishops of the various dioceses so far as was known up to the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. Book Three contains the story of the Reformation struggle and Four and Five carry the story up to the end of the Regencies. Book Six, originally meant to be the last describes the conflict between James and the Presbyterian party up to the Union of the Crowns, and Book Seven is a postscript bringing the tale to the close of the reign of King James.

This procession of events indicates the scope of the work which is conceived on a truly national scale. It is the product of a mind accustomed to dealing with events involving the whole country. Neither Calderwood nor Row can match the breadth of vision of the Archbishop. In comparison, they seem narrow and parochial, and their shortcomings in this respect are made more obvious when one compares or rather contrasts the respective styles. Both Presbyterians seem waspish and venomous and ill-tempered. They continually indulge in violent tirades and outbursts of personal rancour with the

result that they give the impression of crotchety and cantankerous spiteful malice.

Spottiswoode, on the other hand marshals his facts and authorities in proper order so that Wodrow can say, "this History is wrote with a great deal of care and design, and in a style and distinct order and plainness equal to any of his contemporaries, and superior to most part of the Writers of that time." The compliment is deserved. There is a regard for form and design which is in marked contrast to the often ill-arranged almost formless compilations of Calderwood. Also there is an analytical calm and dispassionate survey most unusual for the seventeenth century. One notable feature of Spottiswoode is his aptitude for epitomising in a few lines the life and character of personages noted in the "History." These thumbnail sketches are examples of masterly analysis marked by a shrewd penetration and real historical judgment. Above all there is a complete absence of personal rancour. With an almost Olympian detachment he reveals none of the immoderate violence which disfigures so much of the work of his opponents, and his judgments and censures, often of considerable merit, are couched in gentle terms betokening a spirit free from calumny and polemic and betraying little partiality or bias.

So far good: but a smoothly elegant literary style, a

proper and formal marshalling of events, a feeling for form and design allied to perceptive diagnosis of character do not in themselves constitute a history, still less History. "Speak truth and spare not" was the injunction of King James, and the real point for consideration is whether the Archbishop did speak truth, and whether the account which he gives of events is borne out by the judgment of posterity. Spottiswoode claims to have "followed the truth and studied to observe the laws of History." By that criterion invoked by himself must he be judged.

In appraising any historian, but particularly one who has an avowed aim in view, a most revealing point is his selection from the mass of facts available to him. Equally revealing is the use he makes of these facts and the conclusions which he draws from them. We shall therefore first consider Spottiswoode's material, next we shall consider the use he makes of his material and to do this latter, we shall compare the differing accounts given by Spottiswoode and his opponents of (a) some event important for the light it sheds on ecclesiastical polity; (b) some group of related events; (c) the general course of events. The single event to be considered will be the convention of Leith in 1571-1572, the group of related events will be those connected with the prohibited Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605. Lastly we shall

consider the general history of the period, taking into account information available from all sources, and see whether the complete picture presented by Spottiswoode is to be reconciled with what we know of Scotland at the time concerned.

III.

THE CONVENTION OF LEITH, 1571-1572.

Professor Hume Brown in his "History of Scotland"<sup>1</sup> puts forward the view that the Convention of Leith had its origin in the cupidity of the Earl of Morton and that it was part of his design for enriching himself and also for furthering the eventual union of Scotland and England in religion as well as in politics. This seems to be at variance with the facts. The Convention seems to have been directly due to the desire of some of the leaders of the Reformed Church to set the new dispensation on a stable and permanent basis. From the rents which had belonged to the mediaeval Church little was forthcoming for the material benefit of the ministers of the new regime. Lay lords had seized most of the former patrimony of the Church, and what was left was to be divided between the ministers and the expenses of the royal household. Great difficulty had been experienced in securing allocation of the share of the Church, and in addition many high and profitable ecclesiastical offices such as bishoprics, abbacies, and priories were held by laymen. Thus the Regent Moray had been Prior of St. Andrews, and Queen Mary had subsequently transferred the dignity and emoluments to Kirkaldy of Grange; and on the death of

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1. Vol. II, p. 54.

Archibishop Hamilton, Morton had received the benefice of St. Andrews.<sup>1</sup> There were many other such instances.

Against such malversations, the Reformed Church had no redress, dependent as it was for its existence and support on those same lords who misappropriated the revenues and titles which of right pertained to the Spiritual Estate. The General Assembly had small chance of making its voice heard amid the clash of civil strife, warring factions and blood feuds, and there was good reason to apprehend that unless steps were taken to check the growth of abuses, it would not be long before the Assembly ceased to be consulted or even considered in the matter of presentation to benefices of any sort.

Such was the general situation when on November 10th, 1571, John Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus, wrote to his kinsman the Earl of Mar, now Regent, a letter which is worthy of attention.<sup>2</sup> The writer points out that benefices paid out of tithes have a certain office attached, which office is "spiritual, and therefore belongs to the Church which only has the distribution and ministration of spiritual things." Then he declares, "the administration of the power is committed by the Church to bishops or superintendents: wherefore to the bishops and superintendents pertains the examination and admission of men unto benefices and offices of spiritual cure,

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1. Hume Brown Vol. ii, p. 154; Calderwood, iii, 67.

2. Calderwood, iii, pp. 156-162.

whatsoever benefice it be, as well bishoprics, abbacies, and priories as other inferior benefices. That this pertains by the Scriptures of God to the bishop or superintendent is manifest." He then gives New Testament references to support his contention; 2 Tim. 2;<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. 5;<sup>22</sup> Titus 1, Acts 6. "Thus we have expressed plainly by Scripture," he continues, "that to the office of a bishop pertain examination and admission ..... and also to oversee them that are admitted .... To take this power from the bishop or superintendent is to take away the office of a bishop, that no bishop be in the Church." Later he says, "In speaking this touching the liberty of the Church, I mean not the hurt of the king or others in their patronages, but that they have those privileges of presentation according to the laws; providing always that the examination and admission pertains only to the Church of all benefices, having cure of souls." Of the office itself he says, "I understand a bishop or superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is the other is."

A second letter<sup>1</sup> of 14th November, produced a reply from Regent hoping that a meeting could be arranged, which also stated that "the default of the whole standeth in this, that the policy of the Kirk of Scotland is not perfect, nor any solid conference among godly men that are well willed and of judgment how the same may be helped."

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1. Calderwood, iii, 163.



The Earl of Mar and Erskine of Dun were kinsmen, and by their efforts a series of meetings<sup>1</sup> were held in Leith during December, 1571, between the Regent and Council and superintendents and ministers. On 12th January, 1572<sup>2</sup> a meeting of ministers, superintendents and commissioners was held, also at Leith, and it was agreed that this meeting should have the force of a General Assembly.<sup>3</sup> John Erskine of Dun, John Winram, Superintendent of Fife, William Lundie, Andrew Hay, Commissioner of Clydesdale, David Lindsay, Commissioner of Kyle, Robert Pont, Commissioner of Moray, and John Craig, minister at Edinburgh were authorised to treat with the representatives of the Privy Council and to make arrangements concerning Church polity and the maintenance of the Ministry.

The deliberations of this joint conference produced the following agreement:<sup>4</sup> 1. There should be no change in titles or boundaries during the king's minority or until Parliament should bring in an alteration; 2. Archbishops and bishops should be men duly qualified and all vacancies should be filled by qualified men; 3. For the time being bishops should have no further jurisdiction in spiritual matters than superintendents possessed; 4. Bishops were to be subject to the General Assembly "in spiritualibus" as to the king "in temporalibus;"

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1. Calderwood, iii, 165; cf. Grub, ii, 174.

2. Calderwood, iii, 168, Spottiswoode ii, 170.

3. Calderwood iii, 168, 171; Spottiswoode ii, 171.

4. Calderwood iii, 172-196; Spottiswoode ii, 171. .

5. No appointments were to be made to abbacies, priories, etc. until the ministers belonging thereto be satisfied; 6. A regular system (Calderwood gives the details) was to be followed during vacancies; 7. Patronage was to remain as before but ministers presented to benefices should be qualified men, and examination was to be made by the bishop before admission; 8. All ministers must subscribe the Confession of Faith of 1560 and acknowledge the King's authority; 9. Pluralities were forbidden, and provostries, prebends, etc. should be used for the maintenance of deserving students. The system proposed here, differs but little from that which had existed in the Church in Scotland before the Reformation, and which still existed in the main in England, and it was soon put into practice. John Douglas was chosen Archbishop of St. Andrews and was admitted to his office by laying on of hands by the Bishop of Caithness, a titular and unconsecrated prelate, the Superintendent of Lothian, John Spottiswoode, and the minister at Leith, David Lindsay. Neither of the last mentioned seems to have received ordination, although Spottiswoode may have been ordained in England by Archbishop Cranmer: he does not seem to have been ordained at Calder where he ministered for many years.

The immediate result of the Convention of Leith was the Tulchan Bishops, but the ultimate outcome was much more important. As Hume Brown has it:<sup>1</sup> "Such was the origin of the

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1. History of Scotland, Vol. ii, 154-155.

pseudo-bishops, known as Tulchans, and the beginning likewise of that struggle between Episcopacy and Presbytery, which was to fill so large a space in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland."

When we turn to our historians, Calderwood and Spottiswoode, and consider their treatment of this historic event, we find a remarkable and characteristic difference. Calderwood gives a fairly full selection of the documents involved,<sup>1</sup> mentions very briefly the sequence of events and passes on to his next subject without comment or explanation. First he gives Erskine's letter of 10th November, 1571. Five lines which follow purport to show Erskine's mistake in calling Titus a bishop and in identifying bishops and superintendents. The second letter of Erskine written on 14th November is then mentioned and the Regent's reply is given in full. A meeting is then noted between John Winram, John Douglas and perhaps others with Erskine. The Convention of 12th January, 1572 is then recorded without comment, and the choice of the six commissioners. Next we have the permission given to Robert Pont to be a Senator of the College of Justice, and in a few lines Calderwood gives his own views: "By this corrupt act, we may judge how corrupt in judgment this convention was. They gave power to some few commissioners,

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1. Vol. iii, pp. 156-196.

yea to any four of them, to agree with the Lords of Secret Council and to conclude upon the policy of the Kirk, and disposition of benefices: whereas the custom was before, in matters of such weight, that the commissioners of the Assembly appointed to treat of their affairs were ordained to report to the Assembly before anything was concluded." After this animadversion he gives the conclusions of the Convention in order, headed "The Articles and Forms of Letters concerning provision of persons to benefices and spiritual promotions, agreed upon by the commissioners of the King's Majesty and the Reformed Kirk of Scotland in the month of January, 1571 after the old account; but 1572 after the new."

The articles are prefaced by a preamble signed by the Regent; next we have the terms of the commission, and then a full reproduction of the conclusions agreed upon under the following heads: 1. Anent Archbishopsrics and bishopsrics; 2. anent abbacies, priories, and nunneries; 3. Anent benefices of cure under Prelacies; 4. Of Provostries of College Kirks and other benefices under Praelatus, whereto divers kirks are annexed; 5. of the disposition of Provostries, prebends, college Kirks founded upon temporal lands or annuals; as also of Chaplainries, being of like foundation for support of the schools, and increase of letters; 6. General articles for reformations of certain abuses. Appended are forms for the

election of a bishop, and the chapters of Glasgow and St. Andrews are given, and forms for election to abbacies or priories and documents relating to the provision of scholars from church revenues, the whole ending with the oath to be taken by anyone admitted to any benefice or bursary. "Which articles and forms within written ..... my Lord Regent's Grace ..... alloweth and approveth the same."

Calderwood gives neither explanations nor reasons. He records a series of documents with a minimum of connecting matter to give coherence to what would otherwise be unintelligible. The only hint at a reason is that Erskine's first letter is mentioned in a paragraph which indicates that difficulties had occurred in connection with the "thirds."<sup>1</sup>

Spottiswoode on the other hand tends to the other extreme. He gives the reasons which prompted the Laird of Dun to make his initial approach to the Regent. The pensioned Bishops and also the superintendents were growing older, and the original Reformation settlement would soon have to be considered anew. The Reformed Church had maintained its supremacy for twelve years, but a reasonable constitution would have to be devised as a permanent basis. A settlement founded on documents and ideas brought out in the heat of

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1. Vol. iii, p. 156.

strife could now be considered more objectively in the light of experience and a more settled form of policy and polity could be devised in the light of that experience. New circumstances had arisen which could not have been foreseen in 1560 and some problems were becoming urgent. Who was to succeed the original superintendents? How were they and the ministersto be maintained? What polity was required to meet changed conditions? The time had come for the temporary arrangements of 1560 to give way to a more permanent settlement to ensure that what had been gained would be preserved and properly administered. The First Book of Discipline which was designed to provide a permanent settlement had in some respects at least become a dead letter. New arrangements must be made.

Here we find a striking difference between the Archbishop and Calderwood. The former makes the Convention of Leith the sequel to a spontaneous move by the Church in the regency of Lennox. "The Church ..... thought meet to intercede with the Regent and Estates for establishing a sure and constant order in providing men to those places ..... and settling a competent moyen for their entertainment."<sup>1</sup> This is not unlikely in view of the circumstances, and it should be noted that the writer's father was one of those appointed to treat with the Regent and

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1. History, Vol. ii, p. 168.

Estates. The death of Lennox caused a postponement, and when Erskine took up the matter, he was merely continuing what had been begun before. He was a likely man to gain the ear of the new Regent. It is to be noted that the leading part played by Erskine is not mentioned by the Archbishop, but the meeting at Leith and appointment of commissioners is almost the same as in Calderwood. Then "after divers meetings and long deliberation"<sup>1</sup> the conclusions are briefly summarised. The summary is generally fair but the second head is misleading: "That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the bishops in their dioceses". This is not quite accurate as the authority of the bishops was to be no more than that of the superintendents and these had been made subject to the General Assembly "in spiritualibus." Here as in other cases, Spottiswoode gives us what was probably in the minds of the originators of the scheme and what he would have liked to have issued from the scheme. He does not take sufficiently into account the suspicion that would have been roused at the restoration, in outward form at least, of the former regime swept away barely a dozen years before. Reading into 1571 ideas which might have had validity in 1631 he takes the intention for the accomplished deed and makes his own wish father to his own thought.

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1. p. 171.

Spottiswoode mentions "exception taken by some at the titles of archbishop, bishop ..... as being popish and offensive to the ears of good Christians."<sup>1</sup> Here he seems to be nearer the truth than Calderwood who would have it a general desire of the Assembly that the use of these titles be reconsidered, but as nothing more is heard on this point for some years, Spottiswoode seems to be right in saying "like it is the wiser sort esteemed there was no cause to stumble at titles where the office was thought necessary and lawful."<sup>2</sup>

Calderwood does not tell of the election of more than Archbishop Douglas to St. Andrews, but there were others as he later mentions, James Paton of Dunkeld. Spottiswoode shows more appreciation of the importance of this occasion as he records the appointment of the two archbishops, John Douglas to St. Andrews and James Boyd to Glasgow and also of Andrew Graham to Dunblane and James Paton to Dunkeld. With the filling of these four sees he recognises, as Calderwood does not care to do, that episcopacy as a form of church government is now in the field and has to be reckoned with.

This incident is an example of the value and also of the weakness of Spottiswoode's work as a historian. The careful documentation of Calderwood is lacking and in fact he gives little documentary evidence at all. But there were other

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1. Vol. ii, p. 172.

2. p. 172.



sources open to him. There were his own reminiscences from his father. When Lennox is Regent, Superintendent. Spottiswoode has a leading role, when Mar is Regent Erskine comes to the fore. It is noteworthy that the Spottiswoodes were friendly with the Lennoxes and it was as Chaplain to one of the Lennox family that the future Archbishop first became prominent. But the Earl of Mar was an Erskine and so was the Laird of Dun. This personal touch is one of the great points about Spottiswoode, he had this source available and he made good use of it in his "History," as can be seen from the incident under review.

Also there is a clear and logical sequence of events in Spottiswoode's account, a sequence of events related to their general background. Calderwood has nothing of this sense of perspective, but gives a rather formless mass of documents. In short space, Spottiswoode succeeds in giving an account of the main events, in summarising the main conclusions reached and in giving a reason for what took place. If we bear in mind that John Spottiswoode, himself a bishop, is attempting to justify the episcopal form of government, it must be admitted that the account he gives is not only substantially accurate but fairly reflects both the aim in view at the time and the general tendency at that period of our history. This opinion is not invalidated by the events of the next dozen years nor by the

unfortunate immediate results of the experiment, the Tulchan Bishops, as that was due rather to the rapacity of lay lords and the foolishness and weakness of some of the bishops in lending themselves to simoniacal practices. The scheme resulting from the Convention of Leith, carried out honestly as it had been conceived, might have done much to avert the miseries and quarrels of the subsequent hundred years.

IV.

THE ABERDEEN ASSEMBLY OF 1605.

The main course of events connected with the disputed General Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1605 is quite simple and clear. The Assembly arranged to be held in Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July, 1604, was postponed for a year by royal decree. The Synod of Fife sent their three delegates, James Melville being one, to the place of meeting. Encouraged by this, when the appointed day (2nd July, 1605) came, although the meeting of the Assembly had been prohibited by King James, a small group of ministers convened. The High Commissioner, Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, ordered them to disband, so after electing John Forbes, minister at Alford, as Moderator they prorogued the meeting. Construing their action as disobedience to royal command the Commissioner had the ministers put to the horn. After trial on the grounds of treason certain of the ministers, after long confinement in various prisons were either exiled from Scotland and England or confined to distant parts of the kingdom.

This simple account conceals what both sides to the controversy regarded as a very important point of principle. The continued failure of the king to summon a General Assembly was regarded by many ministers as a blow at their liberty and at the freedom of the Church. It was further suspected that

this course of action, or rather inaction, on the part of King James was in pursuance of his schemes for reintroducing diocesan Episcopacy into the Church. The anti-episcopal party therefore took this opportunity of maintaining the privileges of the Church even in defiance of the king's orders. The point at issue was almost at once obscured, but never lost to sight. King James tried to make the case a political matter of assembling of his lieges without, actually in defiance of his authority. The ministers insisted that the case was a purely ecclesiastical matter to be tried if anywhere, in the Church's courts. In fact the question involved both considerations as we shall see.

Those who were regarded as the leaders of the ministers on trial were warded in Blackness Castle. They were six in number: John Forbes, John Welsh, John Sharp, Andrew Duncan, Robert Durie, Alexander Strachan. An "Apology" for these ministers, penned by James Melville, contains the fullest analysis of the question from the Presbyterian angle. Melville contends that the Assembly has a right and also a duty to meet when it is needful, without or even if necessary against royal authority. Those who met at Aberdeen and constituted an Assembly were justified in their action on three counts:

1. By warrant of the Word of God they had a power which no civil authority could take from them. This power was

derived from our Lord's command when He entrusted to His Church the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven and the power of binding and loosing, a power which Christ's Church can and must use as individuals or in lawful synods and courts duly constituted for the maintenance of sound doctrine and the administration of ecclesiastical discipline. No mortal man, king, magistrate, or any other should hamper this power.

2. By the laws of the land the freedom of the Church had been guaranteed by successive sovereigns, and ecclesiastical synods were a mark of the freedom of the Church. Especially the Act of Parliament passed in 1592 made it lawful to meet in General Assembly yearly, or oftener if required.

3. By constitution and established practice the Reformed Church of Scotland had since 1560 met yearly and often twice and sometimes even three times in a year. If the king would not name a day for the meeting as had been the custom in the past, the Assembly could decide its own time of meeting.

Calderwood gives this Apology in full.<sup>1</sup> Spottiswoode does not even mention it. He cites instead a royal proclamation dated 26th September, 1605, appointing a General Assembly to meet at Dundee on the last Tuesday of July, 1606, and disclaiming any intention of introducing a new discipline, but vindicating the king's claim to be sincere in his

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1. Vol. VI, pp. 297-322.

affection for the well being of the Church.

This proclamation was shown to the prisoners who refused to acknowledge any fault on their part, so as they would not submit they were brought to trial. The accused ministers entered a declinator asserting that the summoning of a General Assembly was an ecclesiastical affair subject to the jurisdiction of the Church and not of the civil courts. This refusal to submit to the court was interpreted as high treason and the ministers were tried on this charge. Spottiswoode mentions efforts made to persuade them to retract and not provoke the king by standing to their declinator. They persisted in their attitude and were at length brought to trial.

The charge was based on an Act of 1584 dealing with the royal power over all estates and the right of his courts to try such cases. The defence pleaded the Act of 1592, averring "that the act made against declining the Council's judgment should not derogate anything from the privileges which God had given to the spiritual office-bearers in the Church."<sup>1</sup> This plea was rejected by the king's advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton on the grounds that keeping an Assembly and appointing another contrary to the king's command was a matter outside the scope of the Statute of 1592, and after trial the six

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1. Spottiswoode Hist., Vol iii, p. 163.

ministers were found guilty of treason and ordered to be detained until the king's desires should be made known. Another royal proclamation forbade anyone to question the decision in any way on pain of being charged with sedition.

Next Spottiswoode mentions allegations that the ministers had been encouraged in their course by promise of help from the Earl of Dunfermline, the Chancellor. The latter stated that he had been called on to oppose the restitution of the bishops' temporalities and his own religion (he was a Roman Catholic) would not be called in question. The ministers maintained that the Chancellor, on learning that they intended to oppose the restoration of episcopal jurisdiction, promised his assistance, which they took as permission to meet. This difference led to an unseemly wrangle which produced no definite conclusion and made the king angry with both parties. The only immediate result was to further the restitution of the bishops' temporalities.

At the ensuing Parliament in Perth, certain ministers who had come there to cause trouble were called together by the Earl of Dunbar and reproved. They seem to have accepted the rebuke and there was no disturbance.

In the following year (1606) in a letter to the Justice from the king, it was enjoined that on 23rd October in Linlithgow, sentence of banishment be pronounced against Forbes

and his five immediate associates "convicted of the crime of treason, for their contemptuous and treasonable declining the judgment of us and the lords our secret council,"<sup>1</sup> and a letter to the council ordered that certain others whose names are given, be confined to certain places. Ministers were forbidden to mention in prayers or sermons those so sentenced and punished. Spottiswoode adds that a similar proclamation was directed against "Jesuits, seminary priests and others of the faction."<sup>2</sup>

Such in outline is Spottiswoode's account of this famous case, and his treatment of the subject is very different from that of Calderwood, who writes throughout in a fury of indignation. Calderwood publishes the main documents of the case and some which have little application. He rages against the tyranny which condemned the ministers, and regards the whole affair (perhaps justly) as an effort to get the Church into the control of the king. In view of this, he reproduces correspondence and authentic records as well as several stories, some of which may not be very reliable, but all express the same point of view, the upholding of the Presbyterian case and putting the main blame on the misdeeds of the (titular) bishops. Now if it be permissible for Calderwood to do this, it is equally so for Spottiswoode to put the opposite case,

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1. Hist. Vol. iii, p. 181.

2. Vol. iii, p. 182.



and it is to be noted that unlike Calderwood, he takes cognizance of the main point of the opposite side. He says that those who met at Aberdeen and proceeded to constitute a General Assembly, did so "thinking by this means to preserve their liberty."<sup>1</sup> He also states that Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, the Commissioner was misled by the ministers who, after he had explained his position, did "request him to remove, till they should deliberate among themselves what were best for them to do," but when he withdrew they "did choose Mr. John Forbes, Moderator, and that done, continued the Assembly to the last Tuesday of September."<sup>2</sup> Spottiswoode also states that Forbes and John Welsh minister at Ayr, the chief persons concerned were encouraged "in private by some principally in the state." This gives a rather different idea from the picture of Christian martyrs presented by Calderwood, and hints at troublers of the political life of the country trying to make catspaws of the ministers for their own ends. This is probably true, but in any case the attempt was a failure as only nine presbyteries sent commissioners and only some twenty commissioners came at all. Most of those present "acknowledged their offence, protesting that what they did was not out of disobedience," and were "dimitted and suffered to return to their charges."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Hist., Vol. iii, p. 158.

2. Vol. iii, p. 158.

3. Hist., Vol. iii, p. 159.

Spottiswoode does not ignore the efforts of those who supported the ministers in their stand, stating that "the proceedings of the council were openly condemned by divers preachers; and to make them more odious, it was everywhere given out that the suppressing of Assemblies and present discipline, with the introduction of the rites of England, were the matters intended to be established."<sup>1</sup> This is important. It must be kept in mind that only twelve years had elapsed since the establishment of Presbyterianism, which had not yet had time to become firmly rooted. Also only nine years had passed since the troubles of December, 1596, when there had been a question of assembly without the king's consent, and Lord Lindsay had been so abrupt with the king. But now James had been king of England for two years and felt that he could take strong measures against those who had dominated his youth. As ruler of the two kingdoms, he had tried to bring about uniformity of civil administration. His efforts had been thwarted owing to opposition from England. Now he was trying to bring about ecclesiastical unity. With a recently established Presbyterian system which had not had time to drive its roots deep in Scotland, and a powerful episcopal Church of England to encourage him, he was now embarked on a course of assimilating the Churches of England and Scotland, and the

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1. Hist., Vol. iii, p. 159.

polity of the united Church was to be episcopacy.

The ministers who met at Aberdeen seem to have known this, and although the actual proceedings did not depart from the stated case, they, although they might claim otherwise, were standing out against the king's intention, and James, although he might pretend that it was a matter of political significance only, realised this fact also. If Spottiswoode is to be censured for giving an account which is misleading, it must be remembered that he was one of the Council and regarded the ministers as factious troublers of the peace, as indeed they were. And if that be so, then Calderwood is more deserving of censure, because not only does he give a very one-sided account, but he assumes a virtue to which the Archbishop makes no claim. Spottiswoode mentions the moves of the Presbyterians without condemnation, rather censuring lay notables who worked (and lurked) behind the scenes; Calderwood is highly indignant over the whole affair, but his indignation is rather a sham, because James was trying to do exactly what his adversaries aimed to do. They also intended to assimilate the Churches of England and Scotland, only their aim was to impose the Presbyterian polity on the Church of England. When the chance came during the civil war, they did what they could to impose their ideas on England by the sword. Calderwood, writing when this attempt had been made, can yet be indignant

at the efforts of James, ignoring the fact that when Episcopacy was restored to Scotland not one life was lost.

The truth of the matter is that the incident reveals James in a most unfavourable light. There is none of the "romance" of evil done on a grand scale, but rather an exhibition of petty spite. The ministers were most certainly provoking and they meant to be. They were full of zeal, and however misdirected that zeal might be, and they certainly showed little of the spirit of the Man of Sorrows, it should have been recognised as that and handled tenderly. But James never could tell the difference between principle and fussiness, and he indulged his inclination for bullying to the fullest extent, not seeming to be aware of the danger caused by providing martyrs for a cause. The ministers, while maintaining that they were preserving the rights of the Church, were really openly demonstrating their difference with the royal policy, and James, while insisting that this was a political matter of assembly of the lieges, was really taking another step forward in the process of making the Church subservient to his will.

Yet one more point remains. In contrast with the tumult and heat of Calderwood, Spottiswoode's tone is quiet and cool, and in this it is like Scotland of the time. Comparatively little stir seems to have been made by the case, and the nation as a whole was unaffected by the dispute.

For the first time for many years Scotland was experiencing good government and internal peace, and there was no inclination to disturb that peace for the sake of a few ministers. Even in the Church, there was little outcry. When the long promised Assembly met in Linlithgow in 1606, little was heard about the case, and the General Assembly and the Church as a whole were not desirous of taking arms in defence of their banished brethren.

V.

SPOTTISWOODE'S "HISTORY" AS A MIRROR OF THE AGE.

For our final consideration before we proceed to a summary of the value of the "History of the Church of Scotland" written by Archbishop Spottiswoode, we must see whether the picture presented by our author corresponds with the truth. Once more, it must be noted that the prevailing tendency of the past three centuries has been to maintain a point of view opposed to all that our author strove to maintain. However, the latest developments in historical research may result, the old view will for many years to come have a powerful hold on the minds of the nation, and in dealing with Scottish history there is reluctance to change from the accepted tradition and suspicion of any attempt at reassessing the verdicts of the past. This tendency to conservatism on the part of the people of Scotland is not likely to be greatly changed by the ultramontane methods of some modern Episcopalian historians. But when a dispassionate survey of the reign of James VI is undertaken, it will be seen to correspond in many ways with what Spottiswoode says.

One need not look in Spottiswoode's "History of the Church of Scotland" for any of violent denunciations which disfigure so much of the work of his adversaries. A courtier, statesman and high officer of the government, he keeps the royal dignity far safer than did King James. Easy and urbane

he reveals in his work the reverse side of the picture presented by Calderwood and accepted by most people. The Archbishop puts the case for the royal supremacy and Episcopacy, and in fact, although the Primate is as partisan as the minister, he presents a picture of contemporary Scotland which is much nearer the truth than that given by Calderwood.

Professor Hume Brown in his summary of the reign of King James VI details the very considerable advantages reaped by Scotland in that period. Great advances were made in education, in science and knowledge generally, in industry and commerce, and above all in political administration, and the country was quieter, more prosperous and better governed than it had been for centuries and than it was to be for a long time to come. The people of Scotland realised this and were grateful. Tired of quarrels between factions in the state and between turbulent noble houses they wanted to be left alone and in peace. Mindful of the troubled days of the royal minority and the religious wars, the people were generally not interested in ecclesiastical disputes, and they would continue to support the king so long as he gave them good government. The nobles also were satisfied. They had done well, directly or indirectly, out of the Reformation, so long as their interests were secure they also would support the king. The Scottish Parliament was a generally docile body normally little more than a rubber

stamp for the decrees of the king. The burgesses were mainly concerned with making as much as possible. quickly, and in enlarging their privileges. They had not yet learned how great was their power. Peace was essential to their prosperity, and so long as the king could ensure peace, he could count on their support. Thus the discontented ministers had little support in the country at large, and those who were discontented enough to cause trouble were comparatively few in number. Without the active co-operation of their fellows, disowned by most of the nobility and with a generally apathetic populace the malcontents made little disturbance in affairs generally. And that is the picture presented by Spottiswoode in his "History of the Church of Scotland:" a small number of ministers and laymen active troublers of a generally quiet people. Even the Articles of Perth which brought the laity actively into the ecclesiastical controversy was not a sufficient cause of disturbance to threaten the national peace. King James left a quiet Scotland content to put up with things for which it might not greatly care so long as there was a continuance of peace and prosperity. Incidentally Calderwood confirms this. The period 1615-1625 occupies 444 pages of the Wodrow Society edition of his "History of the Kirk of Scotland" whereas the period 1605-1614 occupies 747 pages. The last five years of King James's reign occupy only 183 pages, fair testimony to the lack of controversial material.



But although Spottiswoode may give a generally accurate picture that does not mean to imply that Spottiswoode's work is correct in point of detail. For one thing Spottiswoode is interpreting history. His aim is not to produce chapter and verse for every point he mentions, but to give a coherent and balanced interpretation of the various facts of what he records; and although facts may not alter interpretations may and do vary. John Spottiswoode gives us the view of the Government, a Government of which he was a prominent member, but since then for two and a half centuries that Government has been so to speak the Opposition, and the prevailing tendency has been to discredit the policy of James and so of Spottiswoode. But whether we agree with it or no, that policy merits consideration and one of the best ways of studying it is to read what Archbishop Spottiswoode says. We are often reminded of the misdemeanours of James, but what of the misdeeds of his opponents? The general conception of the Presbyterians is of heroes and martyrs for conscience and the truth. It is perhaps a salutary experience to see them recorded not as upholders of freedom against tyranny but as factious, turbulent spirits causing unnecessary trouble and disharmony in Church and State. The picture may be unfamiliar and contrary to what we want, but it is not therefore false.

If we lacked the "History of the Church of Scotland"

written by Archbishop Spottiswoode we should have a rather inadequate idea of what was going on in Church and State in the reign of King James VI, especially in the later years. Calderwood's compilation is an invaluable quarry of documents, but it is very misleading when straying from the strict path of documentation. In Scotland there were many good and honest people, who welcomed Episcopacy, and there were many more who accepted it without much demur. In spite of what is said by Calderwood and his party, all Episcopalians were by no means greedy place seekers and sycophants, nor were all Presbyterians models of purity and virtue. The violence of some of the Presbyterian malice is uncharitable and unchristian. William Scot of Cupar is cited as an example of the quieter, more moderate of the Presbyterians. He often seems to have met Archbishop Spottiswoode on social and other occasions, and he accorded to him the courtesy title of "my Lord". And this example of moderation in his "Apologetical Narration"<sup>1</sup> designates those of an opposite way of thinking as being "for the belly and the body." This abuse is typical of Presbyterian writers of the time and has left an unfortunate legacy. Instead of being regarded as vulgar abuse it has been taken as a correct designation and Episcopalians, both lay and clerical, have been classed as ignorant, stupid, self-seeking.

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1. p. 102.

It does not seem to have occurred to later writers to realise that under Presbytery the same clergy and people comprised the bulk of the Church. Only a comparatively small number were driven out of the fold. Canon MacCulloch has recently<sup>1</sup> undertaken an examination of the clergy lists of the post-Restoration Church and has shown how unwarranted were some of the charges levelled against these clergy. They have been called "unstudied and unbred," "ignorant to reproach," "the dregs and refuse of the northern parts." But in the diocese of Dunblane from 1661-1671 all the clergy were graduates, 24 of St. Andrews, 7 of Edinburgh, 8 of Glasgow, 1 of Aberdeen. Most were sons of lairds or ministers, one was son of a peer, one a Moncrieff of Moncrieff. In Aberdeen the men who replaced ministers ejected in 1662 were all graduates and in Fife most of the new clergy were graduates of St. Andrews, none of Aberdeen. These samples show how unjust was the general condemnation of the later Episcopalian clergy, and it is certain that in the earlier Episcopal Church there was equally little grounds for wholesale condemnation.

The facts seem to support the view that the Church was competently handled under the direction of Archbishop Spottiswoode and his associates. We know the excellent work accomplished in the diocese of Aberdeen by Patrick Forbes,

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1. See Scottish Guardian, February-April, 1949.

and if Burnet's description<sup>1</sup> of Bishop Andrew Boyd of Argyll is anything like the truth that diocese was well administered. Bishop Wm. Forbes of Edinburgh will bear comparison with any, and Maxwell and Wedderburn were both worthy prelates as was Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin and later of Edinburgh.

Of the abilities of these and other such, we get no hint from the Presbyterian writers of the period. It is well to realise that they give only one side of the picture and that there is another side, which is preserved by our historian. There we have a description of a Church by no means at rest, but gradually settling down from a period of turmoil into a fairly homogeneous whole. The removal of a few leading Presbyterians had given the Church a chance to recover from the upheavals of the sixteenth century, and the episcopate was being quietly accepted. In the South West of Scotland and in Fife, there was a considerable opposition, but in most other parts of the country, the system was accepted, although in some parts with reservations, and Edinburgh was always liable to break out again. King James knew just how far he could go with impunity, and he also knew that without leadership an opposition is usually negligible. He therefore removed the heads of the Presbyterian party and could safely go on with his work, a thing which he could never have done if the bulk of the population had opposed him.

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1. cf. Grub, Vol. ii, p. 370.

The great value of Spottiswoode's "History of the Church of Scotland," as has been implied, lies in its origin. It shows us the machinery of government at work and the point of view is that of one who directed that machinery. Government officials are not usually popular, but they are usually efficient, and the Archbishop's book reveals the mind of a first class government agent. The struggles of the opposition are usually more to the public taste. Thus Elijah the outcast makes much more appeal than Elisha the leader of the established religion. So it is in Scotland. Andrew Melville, John Forbes, John Welsh, David Calderwood and the rest have the halo of martyrdom and suffering, and the corresponding odium clings to those who in the popular view, were instruments of oppression. But it would have been most unfortunate if Melville had ever had the leadership of Scotland. However. high-handed and arbitrary, his exile was probably the best thing that could have happened for the country. Stripped of his halo of romance he stands revealed as a waspish, donnish individual whose arrogant temper nullified his zeal and ability and whose private tenderness of feeling and sympathy with those with whom he was familiar was at such variance with his austerity and hardness to others.

This aspect of Spottiswoode's book, as a revelation of King James' government at work is generally recognised. Thus in the article on John Spottiswoode the younger in the

Dictionary of National Biography it is stated that the History of the Church of Scotland "has the customary defects of an official history" and the Rev. M. B. Macgregor in his "Sources and Literature of Scottish Church History" records that "it throws light on the work of the temporary Episcopate of James VI," but the implication is that it is unreliable because it is written from that standpoint. We shall return to this later. Meanwhile it is sufficient to note here that the general picture given corresponds with what is recognised as true. In the reign of King James, with which Spottiswoode is mainly concerned, there was a period of controversy among the clergy with which most of the laity had little concern, and this period of controversy was succeeded by an era of comparative peace. It is true that the seeds of future trouble had been sown, but this trouble did not break out for many years, and during that time the work of the Church went on in most parts of the country with little disturbance. Later events have tended to obscure the comparative tranquillity of the Church in the later years of James, but Spottiswoode gives us a true picture of the situation as it existed at the time and for many years to come.

VI. A.

THE CREDIBILITY OF SPOTTISWOODE.

Concerning the earlier part of Archbishop Spottiswoode's "History of the Church of Scotland" we may say that it does not arouse much controversy. Wodrow rather grudgingly admits as much; "His account even of the Bishops, in the time of Popery, is somewhat lame, though nobody I know of before him hath given us them so distinctly. He does justice in several respects to Mr. Knox and some of our first Reformers; but the Ministers after those meet with no quarter from him."<sup>1</sup> Modern research work was not much practised in the seventeenth century, but Spottiswoode does seem to have made some attempt to get at the truth of what had occurred in past ages. He made good use of the sources available to him, and "employed Sir Robert (his son) to recover from the Scottish priests and monks the ancient MSS. and records of the Church..... and Sir Robert succeeded in this commission to his father's satisfaction with much pains and expenses, and brought home with him many of those ancient records."<sup>2</sup> His diligent research did not perhaps reveal very much but he was able to preserve notices about some early bishops which might not

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1. Life, p. 600.

2. Life, p. 590.

otherwise have survived. Spottiswoode also shows discrimination in the reserve with which he treats some of his earlier authorities. Bede is his main source for early history and Boethius, Major, and Buchanan are used as well as some less well known like Baronius; Bellermine and Bishop Leslie, John Knox and private sources such as State papers and Assembly records are employed for the later period. Normally the Archbishop does not give his authorities but he carries the story forward without explanation of his source of information.

Modern scholarship disagrees with Spottiswoode's judgment on some minor points e.g. Dr. E. W. M. Balfour Melville says of Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow 1426-46, "he soon became one of the most active and efficient ministers (of James I)"<sup>1</sup> and "In the care of his own diocese he was no less active."<sup>2</sup> Spottiswoode calls him "John Cameron..... a man given to violence and oppression,"<sup>3</sup> but here he follows Buchanan. Again Dr. Hay Fleming notes<sup>4</sup> that no mention is made by Spottiswoode of the assistance given by Andrew Melville to Archbishop Adamson, but the Primate of the seventeenth century is not concerned to depict Melville as generous benefactor but is censuring his conduct towards the Primate of

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1. James I King of Scots p. 139. 2. p. 274.

3. Hist. Vol. I p.

4. Critical Review p. 525.



the sixteenth century. Similarly in regard to Mary of Guise the Queen Regent there is a great difference between our author and Knox and Calderwood. But here Spottiswoode has the support of the moderns, who are now strongly nationalist in outlook. The religious wars of the sixteenth century are now regarded as the last phase of the long struggle with England. The Protestants called on England to aid their cause and the supporters of the former regime relied on French assistance, continuing the "auld alliance." Knox and his adherents are now regarded as being false to Scottish character and history in allowing their former foe to have a decisive say in Scottish affairs. Those who think thus forget that France used Scotland as a catspaw quite as much as did England, but to them the Queen Regent is a gallant upholder of the old Scottish story. Spottiswoode, himself strongly nationalistic sees Regent Mary as a tragic victim of circumstances, vainly striving to maintain peace and avert civil war. This standpoint is understandable when we consider that he was himself rather as he depicts the Regent, one who strove to reconcile conflicting views and to preserve peace and stability. John Knox writes of her passing: "Short thereafter she finished her unhappy life; unhappy we say to Scotland, from the first day she entered into it..... God for his great mercy's sake rid us from the rest of the Guisian

blood. Amen, Amen, For of the tyranny of the Guisian blood in her that for our unthankfulness now reigns above us we have had sufficient experience."<sup>1</sup> and he speaks most uncharitably of her obsequies.<sup>2</sup> But Spottiswoode has it far otherwise. "She was a lady of honest and honourable conditions - of singular judgment, and full of humanity - a great lover of justice - helpful to the poor, especially to those that she knew to be indigent but for shame could not beg;..... A great dexterity she had in government..... But she was to govern by direction, and in all matters of weight must needs attend responses from the French Court.... This made her in matters of religion more severe than of her own nature she was..... Otherwise she was of a most mild disposition, and was heard often to say - "That if her own counsel might take place, she doubted nothing to compose all the dissensions within the realm, and settle the same upon good conditions, in a perfect tranquillity.""<sup>3</sup>

Of the two we prefer Spottiswoode as so often when the contrast is with Knox or Calderwood. There may be an element

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1. History of the Reformation Vol. II pp. 71-72.
2. pp. 160-1.
3. Hist. Vol. I pp. 319-320.

of laudatory epitaph about his words, but we believe, with Hooker, that "there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit."

These however are comparatively unimportant details. The reputation of John Spottiswoode as historian stands or falls mainly by his account of contemporary events. When he writes of the generation included in the years from the establishment of Presbytery in 1592 to the death of King James in 1625 he describes events in which he himself had a part. His work as historian has therefore the value of a contemporary source-book, but if the source be contaminated it loses much of its value. Is Spottiswoode's version of contemporary events untrue? Is it sufficiently distorted to be seriously misleading to the inquirer after truth?

Distorted the account of the reign of James VI must inevitably be. Spottiswoode was too near in time to the events described and had too personal an interest in them to be able to attain to that objectivity which comes with the passage of many years. That holds good equally with regard to say Knox or Calderwood. But where they provide a store of contemporary documents (especially Calderwood) Spottiswoode tries to give a detached analysis of what happened, and he is

concerned not to give a series of documents illustrative of Church history of the period but to give an interpretation of the events themselves. To revert to Lord Acton's dictum he was not engaged in the accumulation of the materials of history but rather in the interpretation of those materials. The real question for us therefore is not 'is Spottiswoode an accurate recorder of what took place?' but, 'is his History so misleading as seriously to impair its value?' and again is it misleading in the sense of deliberately concealing the truth? The Archbishop says "I purpose to set down at length the things that have happened both in the Church and State, together with the counsels and cause of those events, without which the History should be of little use; for, take away from story the causes whereupon, the manner how, and the purpose wherefore, things were done, that which remaineth is more like a fable than an history."<sup>1</sup> He desires "to give posterity a true information of things and to have them made wise by our errors."<sup>2</sup>

Obviously Spottiswoode's story differs greatly from that of Calderwood as has been said, but that need not imply that Spottiswoode is wrong and Calderwood is right. Much of what they record is common to both: the difference lies in the point of view. Calderwood can find nothing good in the moves

1. Hist. Vol. I p. 1.

2. p. 2.

of the government, but then he had been exiled by that government. Again Spottiswoode was a member of that government and it is not to be expected that his views will coincide with Calderwood's. What reliance is to be placed on the latter's innuendos? 'Twas said, "yes, but by whom? Edinburgh gossip does not constitute national history, but it may be used to prejudice the mind of the reader. Because the regime favoured by the Archbishop followed a policy at variance with later tradition and sentiment that does not imply that that policy is wrong nor that he who gives an account of the working of that policy is giving a misleading account. We know that Archbishop Spottiswoode was commissioned by King James to write the history of the national Church, we know that he had a prominent share in carrying out the royal policy, therefore we must expect to find that policy set out in its most favourable light, and as has been said before the comparative tranquillity of the closing years of King James is an indication that that policy in general aroused no great opposition in the nation at large. Kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion was a bone of contention for many, but the non-enforcement of that article avoided much trouble, and other matters caused no disturbance to the country in general.

In summing up so far then we may say that in its main general outlines the "History of the Church of Scotland" written

by Archbishop Spottiswoode gives us an accurate picture of the Church in Scotland. Can we amplify that statement?

It is undoubtedly a fault with Spottiswoode that he was such an "Erastian of the strictest type" as the Dictionary of National Biography describes him. But we must not read too much into his Erastianism. His adversaries would ascribe that trait to the fact that he was advanced to high office by the king, but the converse is quite likely to be true, namely that he was promoted by the king because likely to prove a faithful servant. Also we must remember that at the beginning of the seventeenth century Spottiswoode was no isolated figure but thoroughly representative of his age. In dealing with Spottiswoode we must not forget his great contemporary and his references to kingship. e.g.

"Not all the water in the rough rude sea  
Can wash the balm from an anointed king;  
The breath of wordly man cannot depose  
The deputy elected by the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

Compare this with Spottiswoode: "it is nowhere permitted to subjects to call their princes in question, or to make insurrection against them, God having reserved the punishment of princes to himself."<sup>2</sup> Those who would condemn what they call

1. Richard II Sc. 2.

2. History Vol. I, p. 302.

Spottiswoode's subservience should remember the views expressed by the dramatist, and the dramatist expresses the prevailing tendency of the age.

In regard of the Archbishop's laudation of princes and especially of King James we must remember that however little it may appeal to the twentieth century, it was a general belief and practice of the time, and the claim made here is that Spottiswoode accurately reflects his age, and the age which he depicts is the reign of James VI, not that of Charles I. Later scholars may have different views on King James and his works, but no one can deny that he knew his people thoroughly and was far too sagacious or cunning to press to extremes anything which would tend to make the general public turn against him. He kept Scotland quieter than it had been in its whole history, and the refractory ministers during his reign were rather like the present day Communists in that they were continually trying to stir up more trouble than their number warranted. Only in certain areas was there any trouble, and in time that died down. Thus Spottiswoode records<sup>1</sup> that in 1607 there was much trouble over the constant moderators agreed to at the General Assembly of 1606, specifically mentioning Perth, Fife and Merse as refractory synods but in 1621 when the Perth Articles of 1618 were ratified not even Calderwood can show any great opposition, but in his

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1. Vol. III, p. 189.

usual manner although he can state that the thunderstorm at the ratification was a sign of God's anger, yet when the supporters of the articles cited as a parallel the fires on Mount Sinai at the giving of the Law that is termed 'horrible blasphemy.'<sup>1</sup>

If Spottiswoode merits censure for his overpraise of King James Calderwood equally is under suspicion for his eulogies of the Presbyterians. Some of those whom he praises for resisting the King, or rather his representatives, seem to have an air of self-righteousness which is repugnant to our taste nowadays. And we cannot commend them for upholding liberty against tyranny and repression because when they had the upper hand they showed themselves much more bitter and tyrannous than ever the bishops were. Peterkin in his 'Records of the Kirk of Scotland' says "If in future turns of fortune, the covenanters became the victims of bloody persecution, let it not be forgotten, that this system of wholesale murder originated in the massacre at Newark Castle,"<sup>2</sup> and speaking of the judicial murder of Sir Robert Spottiswoode and other prisoners of war he says "And thus commenced the bloody war of party revenge, which for nearly forty years afterwards polluted and dishonoured the annals of Scotland." Peterkin was no

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1. Calderwood Vol. VII p. 505.

2. Vol. I p. 442.



admirer of bishops, and yet the Covenanters are regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom.

In brief we contend that in portraying the leading men of the Presbyterians as factious troublers of the peace Spottiswoode does them little injustice. They may have been conscientious in their stand, but they refused to recognise any honour in those who disagreed with them, claiming for their own views a sanctity which they denied to others, and in some instances making much ado about very little. As a mirror of the age the "History of the Church of Scotland" written by Archbishop Spottiswoode reflects accurately the age with which it deals, and is not in its general tone, misleading. The period, we repeat, is the reign of King James VI.

#### VI B.

Spottiswoode's account of the General Assembly of 1610.

The main criticism of Archbishop Spottiswoode's History seems to concentrate on the Primate's version of the General Assembly of 1610. He has been particularly censured for his omission of two of the Articles agreed at that Assembly, two articles which curtailed greatly the power of the bishops, viz. that bishops be subject to the censure of the General Assembly

and that no man be appointed bishop except he had attained the age of forty and been ten years in orders. Dr. Cook, and Grub both condemn Spottiswoode for misleading posterity in this matter, and Bishop Russell gives much attention to this point<sup>1</sup> reaching the conclusion that the accusation is based on the fact that different versions of the Resolutions exist, all of them "mixed up with the wishes of some individuals and with the comments of others."<sup>2</sup> But the case may be more simple than that. The Archbishop gives the Articles substantially as they were ratified by Parliament in 1612. He was writing a History of the Church as it was, not as it might have been, and Resolutions not accepted by Parliament could be disregarded. In this case also actuality coincided with personal inclination, and that affects not only Spottiswoode but those who condemn his account of the Assembly. Presbyterians were ready enough to claim Parliamentary sanction when they could; they should not complain if that support is at times denied them. It must again be stressed that Spottiswoode is writing a history, not a source book, and his aim is to let the reader know how things went, not how they might have gone had Parliament decreed other than it did.

Here we may recall what the Primate records of the limitations laid down for clergy voting in Parliament by the

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1. History Vol. I pp. LXIII - LXX.

2. Hist. Vol. I p. LXX.

General Assembly of 1598. "It was neither the king's intention nor the minds of the wiser sort to have these cautions stand in force..... but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy made without any noise, the king gave way to those conceits."<sup>1</sup> That is open enough. The king was ready to let time work its changes, accepting checks for the time being. So in 1612 when two years had passed the Resolutions of 1610 were modified and no one seems to have made much trouble. Calderwood who points out the alterations does not record any opposition.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with this same Assembly of 1610 Dr. Hay Fleming has some adverse things to say about Spottiswoode. In his article on "Scotland's Supplication and Complaint against the Prayer Book and the Prelates,"<sup>3</sup> he comments on the payments made at the end of this Assembly to the constant moderators of the presbyteries set up as a result of the General Assembly of 1606, and characterises Spottiswoode's account as "worse than disingenuous." He then makes the rather astounding suggestion that of 12,085 marks provided, 10,000 went to the bishops and their party as bribes and only the overplus of 2,085 marks went to pay the constant moderators. Dr. Fleming never seems to

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1. History Vol. III, p. 75.

2. Calderwood Vol. VII, p. 166-173.

3. Proc. of Soc. of Ant. 1925-6, pp. 314-383.

imagine that the Archbishop might be speaking the truth, but puts the worst possible construction on the relevant entries in the Treasurer's Accounts, quite overlooking the fact that 2,085 marks would about pay the dues of five moderators, certainly nothing like the number required, and those omitted from the disbursement might have had something to say. Also Dr. Fleming attaches sinister meaning to the fact that the High Commissioner (the Earl of Dunbar) is referred to the prelates for guidance in the distribution. There is nothing sinister about it and the explanation is obvious. The Earl of Dunbar would not be in the least likely to know who were the constant moderators, but the bishops would know and so James referred Dunbar to the bishops for information. The transaction was a simple one. The moderators were to be paid and they were paid a debt that was due to them. Curiously enough Calderwood does not make much of these payments, confining himself to calling the prelatie party "forsworn Balaamites," and says "A number of ministers brought from Orkney, Caithness and Sutherland, who had never before seen the face of a General Assembly, were well rewarded,"<sup>1</sup> but in the list of members there are only ten from that area and these include the two bishops.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Calderwood Vol. VII p. 97.

2. p. 104.

The truth seems to be that Dr. Fleming is out to discredit the bishops and King James at any price. He makes two allegations which show this clearly. Of the settlement of 1592 he remarks "Presbytery thus established was gradually undermined and at length overthrown by trickery, treachery, tyranny and bribery."<sup>1</sup> This statement overlooks quite a few points. In many parts of the country the Reformation, far less Presbyterianism, had made little progress and in many others Presbyterianism was not favoured. Also there was quite a lot of trickery on the other side as in Andrew Melville's unscrupulous use of passages from 'Basilicon Doron, and when the time came for Presbytery to triumph there was much more tyranny practised than had been the case in the reign of King James. Besides the fact that in 1598 a large majority voted for clerical representation in Parliament shows that many ministers were not opposed to the royal policy.

Again, reverting to 1610, Dr. Fleming asserts that at that Assembly the king "had bribed the baser section of the clergy." This is the sort of nonsense which is far too common in Scottish Church History. How were they bribed? was it by the 10,000 marks paid to the constant moderators? or not paid as Dr. Fleming alleges. Were they the "baser sort" because bribed or were they bribed because they were the baser sort?

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1. Art. p. 334.

If so it does not say much for the presbyterian government as up till then all ministers had been admitted by presbyteries. They must have been very venal indeed if 10,000 marks satisfied about one hundred and thirty of them as well as provided pensions and increases of stipend to others.

Dr. Fleming seems to be indulging in the technique so familiar in recent years of ascribing the worst possible motives to those who hold a contrary opinion, and supporting that defamation by nebulous allegations. Calderwood knew how to do it, as did Kirkton at a later date. This maligning of opponents and assumption of righteousness seems to have been a characteristic of some Presbyterian writers. Thus Principal Lee in his "Lectures on History of the Church of Scotland" speaks of the "cruelties of the High Commission"<sup>1</sup> but no cruelties as such are recorded in Calderwood. Stevenson speaking of a commission to try grievances says "this court proved a heavy oppression to the country in general who were..... summoned to it in multitudes from all quarters and many of them amerced in large sums" and then he continues "but, if this court kept any records of their proceedings these are not now to be found."<sup>2</sup> If no records have survived where did he get his information about large fines and multitudes being summoned? Probably from the same place as Principal Lee, either gossipy

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1. Vol. II p. 217.

2. Hist. of Ch. of Scot. p. 105.

hearsay or his own or someone else's biased imagination.

It is this cloud of misrepresentation, now happily not nearly so malignant which has poisoned Scottish Church History and done so much to distort our view of the seventeenth century and in view of the general malevolence for so long aimed at Spottiswoode and his party a little of the reverse would do no harm. Spottiswoode's account of the 1610 Assembly anticipates the later ratification, and if that be regarded as tendentious it should be noted that Spottiswoode gives nothing that was not passed by Parliament.

This raises a further question or rather series of questions. What did Spottiswoode regard as the supreme ecclesiastical authority? Was it the General Assembly? or Parliament? or the king? These and other questions which arise from the Archbishop's views on the source of authority will come more appropriately under the heading of Churchmanship although inevitably they affect Spottiswoode's conception and treatment of history. Meanwhile we just mention the point here.

Conclusion.

A fair estimate of the value of the "History of the Church of Scotland" written by Archbishop Spottiswoode seems to be that it gives a generally accurate picture of the contemporary scene, a good idea of the policy of King James and of the working out of that policy, but in detail its value is not great. The reason for this last is that the Archbishop seldom gives the exact wording of documents but prefers to summarise their contents. These summaries are general fair but of course are not a reliable guide to the documents themselves.

We subjoin some views of Spottiswoode's work as historian which bear out the conclusion reached above.

The Rev. M. B. MacGregor (The Sources and Literature of Scottish Church History), "The latter part of his work is especially valuable as a contemporary narrative. It throws light on the work of the temporary Episcopate of James VI."

The Dictionary of National Biography "His work has the customary defects of an official history, but especially as regards the events of his own time, it is of value as a counterpoise to the History of Calderwood, and, although, of course the work of a partisan is on the whole written with candour and impartiality."



Principal Cunningham (Church History of Scotland) "Upon the whole he is candid and truthful.... he seldom perverts a fact, more seldom still utters a falsehood" Vol. II p. 29.

Dr. Grub (Ecclesiastical History of Scotland) "The spirit of true charity and moderation which he displays in his History of the Church of Scotland, deserves the highest praise." Vol. III p. 67.

We have perhaps added nothing new to these conclusions, but as we said at the start this is inevitable, and we can leave our author with that last tribute to 'true charity and moderation.'

ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE AS CHURCHMAN.

I.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

Before we proceed to a study of John Spottiswoode as Churchman it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the general political and religious situation in Scotland prior to 1603 when Spottiswoode was appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, and to do this we must include some account of King James VI on whose character and actions so much was to depend.

The Reformation in Scotland had been established after civil war and by a popular movement directed politically by a group of the nobility (the Lords of the Congregation) and ecclesiastically by a group of ministers and like minded laymen most of whom were imbued with the principles of Calvinism. Now Calvin was a lawyer who liked to have things clearly defined, and laid down, so we soon find that the Reformed Church in Scotland sought and received a basis for the popular movement which, for want of a better term, we may call legalistic. Parliamentary sanction for the overthrow of the old regime and the establishing of Protestantism was sought and obtained, and the Parliament which set up the Protestant Church also legalised a Confession of Faith to be binding on all the nation. The First Book of Discipline sought to give a definite form to the

new establishment. Thus we may say that from the beginning Scotland, unlike England, had a regular and clearly defined form given to what had been a popular movement. This form, although definite was not quite definitive, as the First Book of Discipline was never granted legal status by Parliament. Thus there was room for change and development, but the recognition and sanction accorded to the Confession of Faith with the Acts of the Reformation Parliament laid down the lines of future development, and the succeeding generation saw a series of attempts to gain acceptance for various principles by different groups in the new church. Parliamentary support was sought for their opinions by all shades of thought, and the outcome was the enactments of 1592 which finally established the Presbyterian character of the church.

Meanwhile King James VI had been reaching maturity. In 1580 under the influence of enthusiastic Protestantism there was drawn up at his instigation the so-called Negative or King's Confession, a refutation of what was regarded as Papal error. The king was then aged thirteen. But by 1592 his views had changed considerably. There had been much trouble with some of the ministers in 1584 after the execution of Queen Mary, and since then James had more than once been rebuked by ministers. He longed to be free of what he regarded as their overbearing tyranny, and also he had his eyes fixed on the throne of

England. Filled with book-learning James had also a considerable store of natural sagacity, and he had inherited the absolutism (so necessary for a ruler in Scotland) which is associated with the Stuart dynasty. His policy therefore was directed by what he considered best for his greater interests, and was also affected by a desire to get his own back on a group of ministers who were making his life a burden. There was also the influence of heredity. Although a staunch Protestant himself, his mother had been an equally staunch Roman Catholic, and he had to affect a tenderness for those who were of her way of thinking. Besides his great ambition was to rule over a united, unified kingdom of Great Britain, and that entailed the disappearance of all that separated or was likely to separate Scotland from England. The Border must go, and with it the long strife of the Wars of Independence. Above all if there were to be one political and economic unit of Great Britain, so there must be but one ecclesiastical unit. If England were Episcopal in church polity then Scotland could not be Presbyterian.

To this vision of a united and unified Great Britain must be ascribed many of the troubles of the future, but the aim was not ignoble, and had the policy been uniformly likewise no one could withhold admiration and approval. But the character of James and the previous course of church matters in Scotland precluded such possibility. Were it merely a matter of

Parliamentary assent all would have been easy. Scottish Parliaments were notoriously susceptible to pressure. It was not a matter of obtaining a majority in the Estates. From the first there had existed the General Assembly of the Reformed Church, and that Assembly made large claims. Parliament being but a poor thing the real vigour of independent outlook tended to centre on the General Assembly which dealt with matters affecting the people much more than resolutions of a rather ineffectual Parliament. And the General Assembly was not to be influenced like the meetings of the Estates.

As direct methods were impracticable James had recourse to more questionable approaches, and the years preceding 1603 saw the ground prepared for the removal of Presbyterianism and its replacement by Episcopacy. The Church of England being Episcopal in polity was regarded with favour by James to whom Presbyterianism seemed to smack of liberalism which might spread politically. The pressure of the power of the Church of England was to be exerted through the royal administration and directed to the overthrow of the Presbyterian polity of the Church of Scotland. Meanwhile he devoted his energies to undermining the establishment of 1592, enlisting the aid of Scots ministers who were of his way of thinking. Thus in the General Assembly of 1598 he got the ministers to agree to the

clergy having a vote in Parliament. Restrictions imposed on such voters James accepted for the time being. He was prepared to wait and work slowly to gain his ends. Here we must note another of his characteristics. He was a man of peace. The murder of Rizzio in the presence of his mother shortly before his birth may have accounted for his horror of violence and he did not want to use strong measures if other means were available. So instead of a direct overturning of the Presbyterian settlement he had recourse to diplomacy, and his general method was to isolate his chief opponents in the Church, leaving them without popular or other support, and then strike at them in such a way as to avoid, if possible, calling in question Church principles.

This diplomatic approach was characteristic of the king. Where it was safe to do so he made use of the royal authority as after the disturbances on 17th December, 1596 when he brought Edinburgh to heel by threatening to remove the government from the city; where it was necessary he employed tactful means of allaying suspicion as when he cloaked his ultimate purpose from the ministers in 1598 and procured a clerical vote in Parliament, and all the while he was building up a party in the Church by uniting in one group all who either favoured his policy or did not care for the high Presbyterianism of the Melvillian group.

To counter the king's measures Andrew and James Melville rallied a group of like-minded ministers and strove to assert the rights and claims of the Church against what they regarded as encroachments on her privileges by James. They made at times rather extravagant assertions and Andrew Melville who was a very headstrong individual incurred the personal enmity of the king by using considerable licence of speech and also by a rather unscrupulous use of certain parts of the as yet unpublished 'Basilicon Doron'. There was thus personal animosity added to ecclesiastical and political differences. The dogmatism of Melville was at direct variance with the assertion of the royal prerogative, and the childish pettiness of the king which, handled with tact, might have been rendered comparatively innocuous was inflamed by the hectoring tone of the headstrong Melville.

Whilst he was still in Scotland James was unable to do more than clear the ground for future action, but when he became king of England in 1603 he looked to the support of the powerful Church of England and felt that he could now take stronger action, and almost immediately took steps to strengthen his own position and accomplish the overthrow of the opposing and hitherto dominant faction. On the way to London to receive the crown of England, hearing of the death of James Beaton, last Papal Archbishop of Glasgow, King James appointed to the

vacant see his chaplain John Spottiswoode, minister at Calder, and from now on Spottiswoode became the chief instrument whereby the royal policy was put into effect and eventually carried to a triumphant conclusion.

When King James VI of Scotland marked out John Spottiswoode as one worthy of advancement he made an excellent choice. The future Primate had already shown many signs of ability such as would mark him as a notable minister in the Church, but he had also revealed a broadmindedness and largeness of outlook which placed him in a category altogether different from other leaders of the Church of Scotland. Besides he was almost a protégé of the Duke of Lennox and had connections with the Sandilands family, and so would be more likely to incline to the king than would most of the other prominent churchmen of the day. So James marked Spottiswoode for preferment and took him as one of his chaplains when the time came for leaving Scotland to ascend the throne of England. With the appointment of John Spottiswoode to be Archbishop of Glasgow there began a long association and co-operation to be dissolved only by the death of the king.

In the following pages much of what is dealt with emanated from the Court in London, Spottiswoode having the rather invidious task of giving effect to measures many of which he would probably never have contemplated had he been left to his



own devices. In dealing with Archbishop Spottiswoode as a figure in the Church life of his time it is to be remembered that he had to assume responsibility for many of the actions of the king and the real questions at issue are: did Archbishop Spottiswoode compromise the independence of the Church? and if so how far is he to be blamed therefor? To the resolving of the problems raised by these questions we must now address ourselves.

The method to be followed will be to treat of our subject in three parallel divisions (a) as husbander of the material resources of the Church; (b) as builder and framer of Church polity; (c) as ecclesiastical administrator. This procedure has obvious disadvantages. There will be some overlapping; there will be a tendency to treat the same person as if he were three men with three diverse personalities enclosed in watertight compartments; there will be a sectionalising of interests and a chronological moving to and fro, but these demerits may be outweighed by a gain in clarity and by concentrating on one aspect of the subject at a time thus making for greater definiteness.

II.

SPOTTISWOODE AND THE PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

When John Spottiswoode was appointed Archbishop of Glasgow one of the many urgent tasks to which he had to address himself was that of solving the problem of the adequate maintenance of the ministry and the proper administration of the material resources of the Church. Ever since the Reformation there had been difficulty experienced in securing reasonable stipends for the ministers of the new dispensation. In the unsettled period preceding and subsequent to the overthrow of the medieval church the vast properties of that body had to a great extent been dispersed. When the collapse of the Papal hierarchy was imminent the bishops, abbots and other notables of the Church alienated much of the church property to lay friends, and most of what was left was soon seized by powerful nobles. In both Scotland and England the prosperity of many great families had an ecclesiastical foundation.

In Scotland the Protestant establishment was an establishment only in name. Ministers were few in number and it was many years before the parishes were fully supplied. In the interval the means of supporting a minister had often been disposed of. For many years one of the chief concerns

of the General Assembly was to secure adequate remuneration for ministers. The scheme evolved in 1561 was that two thirds of the revenues of the Church should be retained by their former possessors and the remaining third was to be devoted to the upkeep of the royal household and the maintenance of the ministry of the Protestant Church. But even this rather meagre dole was not easily forthcoming, and there were constant complaints about delay in the payment of stipends. The Convention of Leith in January, 1572 was an attempt to solve the problem but it had no good result, rather the position was made worse by the resulting 'Tulchan' experiment, whereby lay nobles retained most of the revenue and the 'bishop' got very little.

The struggle to get sufficient stipends went on for a very long time with no satisfactory solution being reached. One great handicap of the Church was that there existed no central authority in the Church strong enough to make the powerful nobles disgorge their illegal gains. The General Assembly had considerable authority in the country, but against a combination of the baronage it was powerless, and there was no permanent central executive which could constantly be able to attend to the welfare and general interests of the Church. The Assembly met usually once a year and it was another year before any further steps could be taken.

Presbyteries and synods meant little to the nobility, who knew that, whatever the General Assembly might decide, there was no effective means of implementing that decision unless the central government of the nation moved in the matter, which it seldom did.

When John Spottiswoode became Archbishop of Glasgow in 1603 he succeeded to a rather barren inheritance. The revenues of the see had been so much dilapidated that according to some it was worth only one hundred pounds per annum, although others put the figure at five hundred. As most of the alienated lands were in the hands of powerful laymen their recovery was a matter of some delicacy, but Spottiswoode managed to effect some improvement in the position. Wodrow has preserved several notes of the efforts of the Archbishop to recover or at least enjoy the revenues formerly annexed to the diocese.

Thus we find that in 1609 in a memorial by the bishops to King James the following: "Touching the erections (of noblemen), it's our humble desire to His Majesty, that the Noblemen in whose favour they have been passed may take order for the provision of their Kirks..... and suchlike some course also would be taken for the Prelacies erected..... that the presentation of Ministers to the modified stipend, at the vacancy of the church should be in his Majesty's hand."<sup>1</sup> This

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1. Life p. 385.

was signed by Spottiswoode who adds a note that when "those men that do possess our livings" incur the just displeasure of the king the church should be remembered.

Again in 1614 we have a letter from Spottiswoode to the king dated August 3rd<sup>1</sup> informing him of the arrangements made about the Abbacy of Kilwinning, tithes of Cunningham and negotiations with the Earl of Glencairn. This letter mentions the king's 'liberality to our College;' and another of July 29th asks the king to take in hand the proper provision for the Bishopric of Orkney which was in a very poor state.

On his appointment to the see of St. Andrews Spottiswoode again made improvements, securing for the see the Priory of St. Andrews, then in lay hands, and so he continued his labours in this respect for many years.

All these examples, which could be greatly increased in number, show the Archbishop as one who was careful for the well-being of the Church. It has been a reproach for some that what he did was for his own profit, but even so the benefit would be felt by his successors. Besides not all that has been mentioned was for himself and he writes on 9th January, 1621 "The burdens that lie upon me that way render my service less profitable, and force me to live at home, and more obscure,

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1. Life p. 410.

except when necessity presses me to attend. To further the service I spared no expense, and made for it, upon occasion or other, 41 journeys to Court..... I left Glasgow, and took myself to a greater charge, with less provision.... beyond my Annuals little remains to myself, and in what case I should leave my children, if God should visit me, He knows."<sup>1</sup> This shows the straits in which the Primate had been living. He was not the only one as the many references in Assembly and other records show, and in trying to get justice for himself he was helping others at the same time.

There was need of some proper administration of the resources of the Church, and that came in 1630. This final settlement must have owed not a little to the Primate. King Charles had not been in Scotland since his childhood and in such a matter, especially in view of his own disposition, he must have taken some account of the counsel of the Metropolitan of the Scottish Church. Spottiswoode was fully qualified to deal with the question. In 1608 he had had some share in an investigation into the affairs of the Exchequer<sup>2</sup> and in Charles's reign he had been President of the Exchequer since 1626. There can be no doubt that in the circumstances King Charles consulted Spottiswoode about the transaction and that

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1. Life p. 460.

2. Life p. 382-383.

some of the credit for the happy resolution of the difficult and delicate problem should be assigned to the Archbishop.

So far we have considered matters of finance, but there is another aspect to this matter, namely the maintenance of the buildings of the church. Here so far from lining his own pocket we find Archbishop Spottiswoode laying out large sums for which there could be no return. Whilst he was in Glasgow he carried out extensive repairs to the archiepiscopal palace and he inaugurated the work on the leaden roof of the Cathedral which remained for almost three centuries. When he was at St. Andrews he entirely built the church at Dairsie. To object that here again Spottiswoode was doing something for himself is to show a complete misapprehension. The roof of the Cathedral at Glasgow and the church at Dairsie were symbols of something greater than selfish pride. They showed care for the dignity of the House of God and of His service, and were designed to arouse others to emulation so that the fabric of the church should be the best possible. Similarly we have the work of the monarchs James and Charles in the repair of the Abbey of Holyrood, the restoration of Iona Cathedral, the re-ordering of the Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh and the building of the Tron Kirk also in Edinburgh. The purpose of these works was to try to restore order and dignity in buildings to suit the intended reverence of the services to be performed in these buildings.

Throughout his official life we see Archbishop Spottiswoode as one who was careful for the proper maintenance of the Church. Like John Knox before him he was well aware of the material loss sustained by the church at the Reformation, but unlike Knox he made a real effort to recover for the Church some share of her former patrimony. It was this care for the resources of the Church which in no small measure contributed to his undoing. It would be an over simplification of the matter to assign the cause of the downfall of the Episcopate in 1638 to the resentment felt by a number of the nobles of Scotland at inroads made on their financial resources in the name of the Church, but there can be no question that this resentment was a very important factor in the developement of events. Spottiswoode and King Charles were both desirous of effecting a permanent and equitable settlement of the finances of the Church, and the revocation by Charles on 12th October, 1625 whereby the mass of Church property in lay hands was reannexed to the Crown must have removed the basis of many a private fortune. Although the settlement ratified in 1630 was final the alarm aroused in the uneasy consciences of many Scottish nobles turned them against the bishops as leaders of the Church and even against the king. In this way the as yet ineffective and leaderless group of disaffected ministers got the powerful lay support which they required to be a real



menace to the ruling group in the Church. Till now the discontented ministers had had comparatively little support in the country where the natural leaders of the nation took little share in the ecclesiastical dispute and when needful threw the weight of their influence into the scales on the royal side. But after the Act of Revocation all was changed; those natural leaders of the country were now beginning to turn against the king.

That the ecclesiastical financial policy of the king had a great deal to do with the downfall of the episcopal establishment can be seen by comparing the voting in Parliament in 1621 with the signing of the National Covenant in 1638. The Parliament of 1621 was that which ratified the Five Articles of the Perth General Assembly of 1618. Calderwood<sup>1</sup> gives the voting lists. The Sheriffdoms are equal at eleven votes each, while the burgh representatives were against ratification by twenty four votes to twenty. The eleven bishops present were unanimously in favour, and the main affirmative vote was the thirty five noblemen against fifteen. That is to say the main strength of King James lay in the support of the nobility, those who held the largest share in the Church lands.<sup>2</sup> Peterkin in his 'Records of the Kirk' gives the Lords of the Covenant

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1. Vol. vii pp. 498-501.

2. cf. Gardiner Vol. vii p. 275.

who signed a letter to the Marquis of Hamilton on 9th May, 1639.<sup>1</sup> They number twenty, and in the General Assembly of 1638 twenty lords were present as elders. These total twenty eight of the nobility of Scotland actively in opposition to King Charles, and there were others of like mind. That is sufficient to show how the nobility of Scotland had veered from favouring James to opposing Charles. Gardiner in his 'History of England' 1603-1642<sup>2</sup> records the reaction of the wealthy landowners to the original Act of Revocation by King Charles. The inference is obvious. The nobles of Scotland in the days of King James were left in almost undisturbed possession of their revenues, so they supported him against a turbulent and factious group of disaffected ministers and commoners. In the days of King Charles they lost some of their revenues although the position was now regularised, and they feared that the bishops might demand more so they turned against the bishops and in time against the king who was so solicitous for the bishops.

What was the source of all this trouble? The aristocracy of Scotland had enjoyed the fruits of Church lands for two generations. Now they feared that they would no longer have that benefit. But King Charles found a very reasonable and in the circumstances not unjust solution.

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1. p. 217.

2. Vol. vii p. 277.

Church lands were to remain in the possession of those who held them, subject to payment of a rental to the king. Tithes could be liquidated by payment of a sum equal to nine years' tithe. If that were not done tithes in kind were rendered in cash from which the stipend was to be deducted and an annuity paid to the Crown. Particular attention was given to ministers who in many cases received an increase in stipend. This entailed great benefit to the ministers who were now assured of a steady regular, and in many cases increased, stipend. The nobility suffered some loss of income but their right to that income was now sure. They were not however a very admirable lot, being for the most part unruly and self seeking, and the fact that they had lost some part of the power which they had so abused in the past, rankled in their minds and many of them in their discontent were ready to make trouble.

Archbishop Spottiswoode was far too sagacious and wary to be ignorant of this, and Charles seems to have realised it also. In 1635 after the death of the Chancellor, the Earl of Kinnoull, Spottiswoode was appointed to fill the vacant place. It is not very likely that the Archbishop wished to add the duties of Chancellor to those of Primate of the Church and President of the Exchequer. He was now seventy years old and past that kind of ambition. Besides he was well aware of

the jealousy directed against the Episcopate and must have known that his appointment would alienate almost all the nobility who had come to regard all offices of state as theirs by right. The only reason which seems to account for the move is that the king, embarked on schemes for the virtual organisation of the Church of Scotland, needed all the support he could get and required as Chancellor one who would be loyal and faithful to the Crown. He was well aware that there were few lay lords who could be relied on implicitly and none who could be entrusted with the task of further alterations in the existing state of the Church. Consequently the Primate of Scotland became also Chancellor of Scotland. This was the final touch needed to convince the aristocracy of Scotland that they must look to themselves if they were to retain their power and authority, consequently many were now prepared to lend their countenance to the disaffected ministers.

Although in the final event the main cause of the downfall of the Episcopate was ecclesiastical, the financial question played its part and the efforts of Archbishop Spottiswoode to recover the lost revenues of the Church were a contributing factor. As he was by far the ablest of the bishops with the exception of perhaps Patrick Forbes who died in 1635, and had for long been the chief instrument of introducing

innovations in worship into the church so he had to shoulder most of the odium when things miscarried, and now he was a target for the rancour of the aristocrats who saw in his advancement a warning of their own downfall.

Professor Cooper in an address to the Archaeological Society of Glasgow,<sup>1</sup> advances the interesting theory that the authorship of the Foreword to an edition of Sir Henry Spelman's "De non temerandis ecclesiis" should be attributed to Spottiswoode. This edition was issued in Scotland in 1616, and if Dr. Cooper is correct in his theory it shows Spottiswoode as urging the restoration to the Church of her former goods, and whether Dr. Cooper is right or no in his hypothesis at least the writer expresses the views of the Archbishop: "Who seeth not the estate of the Church of Scotland, as concerning the patrimony go from bad to worse?" Sacrilege and simony are condemned and the blame is laid at the door of the Church; "neither can ye deny the evil for the most part to have flowed from yourselves," and the writer urges the restoration to the Church of her rights.

This tallies with the Archbishop's known views, which he openly expressed at this time at the General Assembly in Aberdeen in 1616 when endeavouring to secure adequate stipends for the clergy, and agrees with what he wrote in his History of the Church, e.g. of Lord Balmerino he says<sup>2</sup> "the possessions

1. Trans. of Glas. Arch. Soc. Vol. vii pp. 79-104.

2. History Vol. iii p. 204.

he acquired of the Church kept him still an enemy unto it, for he feared a repetition should be made of the livings if ever the clergy did attain unto credit;" and of George Gladstones his predecessor in the see of St. Andrews he writes<sup>1</sup> that he was "induced by those he trusted to do many things hurtful to the see, especially in leasing the tithes of his benefice for many ages to come..... esteeming that by this mean he should purchase the love and friendship of men, whereas.... to the preserving of [respect] nothing conduceth more than a wise and prudent administration of the church rents wherewith they are entrusted." Several similar quotations could be given. But to hold these views and to try to put them into effect are two very different matters, and it is quite out of character for John Spottiswoode the cautious prelate to have recourse to precipitate action, but the damage had already been done, mainly by others. The nobles were suspicious of the designs of King Charles, and the preferment of Spottiswoode to the Chancellorship was to them a warning that the bishops might be employed in offices of state which the aristocracy regarded as theirs exclusively, and they feared like Balmerino, according to Spottiswoode's account, that the new power of the bishops might be used to make the lay lords disgorge in favour of the Church some at least of the property

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1. History Vol. iii p. 227.

which they now regarded as their own.

Thus we reach the rather peculiar conclusion that Archbishop Spottiswoode's careful husbandry undid all his care. Had he not been so eager to see the Church enjoy its own again, but rather followed the example of his predecessors in both Glasgow and St. Andrews he might not have aroused the hostility of the nobility and so might have avoided encompassing his own downfall. The actual financial loss to the great landowners was not great and was well worth incurring for the resultant security of tenure, but the suspicion aroused was enough. Spottiswoode himself must be acquitted of major responsibility for the final disaster. He was far too cautious and circumspect to incur needless hostility. But he was powerless to halt the forward march of events, which in the later stages were controlled almost entirely from Whitehall where there were a king who had singularly little knowledge of Scottish character and an archbishop of England whose energy and talents served to aggravate the resentment aroused by his inability to discern between fussiness in inessentials and real principle.

. III.

THE POLITY OF THE CHURCH.

When King James nominated John Spottiswoode to the Archbishopric of Glasgow it was with the open intention of using the new prelate as a main instrument in overthrowing the Presbyterian establishment of the Church of Scotland and replacing it by Episcopacy. Spottiswoode therefore had to face the task of building up an organised scheme of Church government. This was not an easy thing to accomplish, as it was not a case of starting at the foundations and evolving something on the lines of what existed in England. There was in Scotland since 1592, and originating earlier, a regular system of Church organisation which ran counter to the proceedings of Spottiswoode, and he had a two-fold problem to solve. First he had to induce a mainly reluctant ministry to give up their old way of proceeding and secondly he had to get them to accept a form of polity to which many of them were averse. One alternative was to abolish the existing Presbyterian forms at a blow and impose the forms of Episcopacy in their place, but this procedure would have aroused such opposition and caused so much disturbance in the country and in the Church as to threaten the peace of the nation. King James had not had recourse to such violent measures and the



new archibishop would never have considered them in 1603. He preferred to go slowly and work circumspectly without stirring up any unnecessary trouble. His method entailed gradually grafting the forms of Episcopacy on to the existing Presbyterianism and in time bringing about a state of affairs where the forms of Presbyterianism might remain but the real administrative principle and authority was Episcopacy.

For many years, therefore, we see Spottiswoode methodically and bit by bit subverting the establishment of 1592 until at length there was substituted a diocesan Episcopacy well established and welcomed in many areas and tolerated in most others, functioning smoothly for the most part and accepted as the recognised norm of Church government. The carrying out of this long process was not easy, and that it was brought to a successful conclusion says much for the tact and ability of Spottiswoode who had to deal at once with a hostile group of ministers fiercely opposing all that he proposed and with an impatient king who was continually urging him on to fresh schemes, imperilling what had already been achieved by insisting on bringing forward further innovations.

The various stages in the development and working out of the Archbishop's plans can be quite clearly distinguished and the decisive dates are 1606, 1610, 1612. The changing scene and the reasons for the changes are obvious and instructive.

A.

1606.

The first decisive steps were taken at the General Assembly held at Linlithgow in 1606. Hitherto the bishops had little power and less authority. They were but recently appointed and there was considerable opposition to them. Although they had the titles of the former dioceses they exercised no authority there and several of them did not reside anywhere near their dioceses which they were supposed to oversee. But in 1606 the general position had changed. The trial of the ministers who attended the prohibited assembly in Aberdeen in 1605 had shown that the king meant to have his own way, and that it would be dangerous to provoke him, but, even more significant than the actual proceedings, the failure of their friends to secure any major support in the country generally and the ease with which an attempt to cause trouble at the meeting of Parliament in Perth in 1606 was quelled showed that there was little serious opposition to be feared. Then the summoning of the chief Presbyterians to confer with certain bishops in London deprived the Presbyterian party in Scotland of effective leadership, and the detention of these ministers in England smoothed the way for a favourable meeting of a General Assembly. This was called for December 10th,

1606 in Linlithgow, and its meeting found the Presbyterians ill-prepared. To this meeting King James sent down a series of instructions for a future settled order in the Church involving the appointment of permanent moderators of presbyteries, the bishops to be moderators of the presbyteries in which they resided. Diocesan Synods were to be moderated by the respective bishops on whom the king had bestowed "places, and means to bear out the charges and burthens of difficult and dangerous actions, which other ministers cannot so well sustain and undergo."<sup>1</sup> These proposals were not acceptable to some but eventually on the assurance of the Commissioner (the Earl of Dunbar) that there was no intention of altering 'the present discipline,' they were agreed to with certain cautions. These cautions limited the powers and authority of the permanent moderators to what had hitherto been the custom, and retained the right of the ministers in synod to elect moderators who were to be subject to the censure of the Diocesan Synod in the case of moderators of presbyteries and of the General Assembly in the case of moderators of Synods (i.e. the bishops). The moderator of the General Assembly was to be chosen 'as in times passed.' These and some other minor restrictions being accepted the royal proposals were agreed to almost unanimously. This foundation for future

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1. History Vol. iii p. 185.

designs was laid with comparatively little controversy and two main advances were made: 1. the acceptance in principle of constant moderators would enable some central authority more easily to control the whole Church; 2. the bishops (as yet only titular) were accepted as an integral part of the church and had assigned to them the function of moderating over Diocesan Synods.

It will be noted that although in the end the findings of the Assembly were almost unanimous, considerable suspicion had to be allayed, and the Commissioner had had to assure members that no change in the existing order was contemplated. This was not strictly true; although at the time nothing more was intended, much more was being prepared for the future, although the Commissioner would not know that. Progress was still slow and caution was required, as the ministers had to be handled very tactfully at this stage. This was also shown outside the Assembly. The laying of a foundation had been accomplished without much ado, but the work of building on that foundation was not to be easy. Archbishop Spottiswoode in his 'History of the Church'<sup>1</sup> records much opposition in different presbyteries and synods to the acceptance of the constant moderators nominated by the Assembly, mentioning in particular Fife and the Merse.

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1. Vol. iii 189.

B.

1610.

In 1610 the position had eased considerably. The General Assembly of 1608, also held at Linlithgow, had been a harmonious gathering as on most points discussed opinion was united. No controversial business had been allowed to disturb the general atmosphere of unanimity, main attention being directed against the Roman Catholics, especially the Jesuits. The detention of Andrew and James Melville in England had ensured that the Presbyterian party was still without effective leadership.

Parliament in 1609 had restored consistorial jurisdiction to the bishops and in its ecclesiastical transactions had regarded the episcopate as the responsible authority in the Church. Thus the way had been prepared for further action along the lines urged by James, but the bishops were reluctant to assume powers which they did not really possess being "unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the ministers."<sup>1</sup> This is probably a true statement of Spottiswoode. It was easy for the king to sit in Whitehall and govern Scotland from his desk, but those who had to further his policy on the scene of action had yet many obstacles to surmount, and John Spottiswoode was not the one

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1. History Vol. iii p. 205.

to rush headlong into affairs of moment. Although he was theoretically at this time junior to the Archbishop of St. Andrews his abilities were such that the chief ecclesiastical administration of Scotland was entirely in his hands, and he was at this time sincere in his desire to secure the approval of the ministers for what innovations were introduced, knowing that as yet the position of the bishops was by no means secure. Rather than act precipitately in accordance with the desires of the king he preferred the hard but surer way of winning consent for any innovations. So it was represented to the king that a General Assembly should be called to regularise the somewhat anomalous position of bishops, not yet consecrated, appointed to supervise dioceses which as yet formed no integral part of the existing ecclesiastical system, and with no real authority over clergy who were in fact their fellow-ministers, but who were treated by both Parliament and the royal executive as the responsible and functioning central ecclesiastical authority in the land.

The desired Assembly, held at Glasgow in June, 1610, has already been discussed from another point of view. Here we are concerned with what took place and how it affected the organisation of the national church. Archbishop Spottiswoode was chosen as Moderator and a series of conclusions was enacted

which completely subverted the Presbyterian polity of the church. This was the aim of the king and also of the Archbishop who had written to James in March that the ministers "have at this time a strong apprehension of the discharge of Presbyteries, and for the standing thereof in any tolerable sort, will refuse no conditions. So it were good to use the opportunity, and cut them short their power, and leave them a bare name which..... in a little time shall vanish."<sup>1</sup> Here we have the policy and the methods of carrying out that policy clearly revealed. So long as the ministers are allowed to meet in their presbyteries they will agree to anything. Thus the measures fatal to Presbyterianism secured a unanimous endorsement, and Episcopacy, as distinct from 'the bishops' recognised in 1606, became an integral part of the ecclesiastical system.

The conclusions of this Assembly so far as concerns the organisation of the Church were briefly: that diocesan synods be held twice yearly at which the bishop was to moderate, that excommunication or absolution from excommunication be not pronounced except with the knowledge and approval of the bishop, but if he stayed execution when the process was just and natural he might be deposed, that all presentations to benefices in the diocese were to be directed to the bishop who was, with

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1. Life p. 393.

the assistance of some ministers, and after due examination, to ordain those presented, that in cases of suspension or deprivation of ministers the bishop of the diocese was with the help of ministers near where the delinquent resided to hold trial and pronounce sentence, that every minister at his ordination was to swear obedience to the king and to his ordinary after the manner agreed upon at the Convention of Leith in 1572, that visitations of the diocese were to be made by the bishop, or by one acting under his commission, that the bishop should moderate at meetings of the exercise, or in his absence one nominated by him at the diocesan synod, that bishops be subject to the censure of the General Assembly in matters relating to their life, conversation, benefice and office, and if found guilty be, with the king's consent, deprived of their office, that no bishop be elected under the age of forty or within ten years of his ordination, that no minister speak against these findings nor argue the question of equality or otherwise of ministers.

These conclusions were in great part a reversion to the agreed polity at Leith in 1572, and their effect was to restore to the Church episcopal government. Thus with civil rights restored by Parliament and ecclesiastical jurisdiction admitted by the General Assembly Episcopacy was established in Scotland once more.



It has been said that this was a 'packed' Assembly of ministers chosen by the bishops and the king, and Archbishop Spottiswoode in the letter to the king previously quoted says "We shall not fail to use all diligence in preparing men for holding that meeting." But he seems very apprehensive about the fate of his proposals and was by no means sure of a majority, and did not want "new difficulties bred us, when we are upon the point of finishing things." The implications of his letter mean a course of intensive propagands rather than a pre-selection of members.

In the event there was no opposition worth speaking of , and Episcopacy was restored to the Church officially, and all future ordinands were to swear obedience to episcopal authority. Packed Assembly or no there were 130 ministers in Scotland prepared to accept Episcopacy, and they were not the only ones as subsequent events were to prove.

To implement the decisions of the General Assembly about the bishops it was necessary that they be bishops in reality, so soon afterwards Spottiswoode went to London, accompanied by the bishops of Brechin (Lamb) and Galloway (Hamilton). There all three were consecrated by English prelates. To ensure that there was no question of subjection to the Church of England both Archbishops of England were excluded from participation in the ceremony and the Scottish (Presbyterian)

ordination of the three new prelates was deemed to be valid. Of this event Dr. Cooper remarks in the article previously mentioned<sup>1</sup> "No schism resulted from the consecration in the Chapel of London House," and that Spottiswoode "worthily maintained the national independence of the Church of which he was a minister."

The newly consecrated bishops on their return to Scotland imparted the gift they had received to their brethren, and by May, 1611 all the other prelates had received consecration. There seems to have been little protest by any ministers, most of whom by now were earnestly desirous of ecclesiastical peace.

To this year also belongs the introduction of the Court of High Commission to Scotland. Originally a dual Court functioning in each Province it became a united body on the translation of Archbishop Spottiswoode from Glasgow to St. Andrews in 1615. The setting up of such a Court was a false step as Spottiswoode later realised as his remarks in the relevant section of his History of the Church<sup>2</sup> show when he refers to "the great discontent of those that ruled the estate; for they took it to be a restraint of their authority in matters ecclesiastical, nor did they like to see clergymen invested with such a power."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Trans. of Glas. Arch. Soc. Vol. vii p. 90.

2. Vol. iii p. 212.

By the end of 1610 Episcopacy had been restored as the type of Church government by decision of the General Assembly and the bishops, now with valid consecration available, were recognised as the leaders of the Church. Their hands were strengthened by the Court of High Commission which they could use to enforce their authority on the recalcitrant and the chief opposition to them had been if not silenced at least rendered powerless. Spottiswoode had done his work well and his method of working had been fully justified. He knew how to deal with the generality of ministers and could assess them fairly accurately as "people subject to change, and carried easily with the wind of every report."<sup>1</sup> A few years ago they had been very jealous for their privileges and were easily stirred up to vigorous protest against any infringement of those privileges. By removing fewer than a dozen men the king had removed also the chief opposition to his plans and the bulk of the clergy, having once experienced a period of freedom from serious ecclesiastical strife, were now ready to accept the new order so long as that peace was maintained, and they were not harried or badgered by one party or the other. The introduction of the court of High Commission by virtue of the royal prerogative raises questions

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1. Life p. 393.

which will be dealt with later when we consider Archbishop Spottiswoode's views on authority in the Church. Meanwhile it is sufficient to note that most of the exception to this court mainly centred on the nobility and, such was the change from 1603, not on the clergy. The mass of the populace was indifferent.

C.

1612 and after.

The decisions of the General Assembly were often ratified by Parliament, and those of the Assembly at Glasgow in due course were presented to the Estates for ratification. By this time yet another change in the general situation can be readily perceived. Two years had passed since the General Assembly met and it was in the light of the experience of these years that the resolutions were considered.

In 1611 certain directions from the king to the clergy were considered and approved at a meeting of the bishops and certain of the ministers. These instructions were designed to round off the advance already made and included regulations for the residence of bishops and the performance of their functions, request that laymen be asked to assist the minister in such things as the upkeep of fabric and collecting for the poor, due ordination for ministers by the bishop according to a definite written form, provision for the election of bishops according to the agreement reached at Leith in 1572, and prescription for calling a General Assembly. This last provided that application be made for licence from the king to hold an Assembly, and that the Assembly consist of bishops, deans, archdeacons and ministers elected by their fellows.

The acceptance of these articles showed that the new administration was settling down and all that year things were very quiet in the Church as people grew accustomed to the changes. It is to be remembered that only the ministers and former lay elders were in any way affected. Changes in Church administration meant little to most lay people, and there was no alteration in ritual or ceremonial to bring them into the arena of party strife. The account of the entire year occupies only eleven pages in Calderwood's 'History of the Kirk of Scotland' quarter of which space concerns the suicide of John Chalmers minister at Keith.

So when in October, 1612, Parliament met in Edinburgh and the acts of the Glasgow Assembly were presented for ratification no one seemed to mind greatly when certain alterations were made. The subjection of bishops to the censure of the General Assembly was deleted as was that part concerning replacement in room of a bishop who impeded just and natural excommunication, and the setting of a minimum age of forty before election to a bishopric was also omitted. The form of the oath of obedience to the ordinary was prescribed in the words "I A.B. now admitted to the Church of C., promise and swear to E.F., Bishop of that diocese, obedience, and to his successors, in all lawful things. So help me God."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Calderwood Vol. vii p. 169.

This was a considerable strengthening of the position of the bishops and it shows that the laity were not disposed to give their support to the Presbyterian ministers. Not only so but that same Parliament rescinded all Acts, including that of 1592, which ran counter to the new establishment. By Act of Parliament and by Act of General Assembly Episcopacy had been established as the discipline of the Church, and had nothing more been attempted there is every probability that there would have been no outburst of 1637 and no National Covenant of 1638. The position reached in 1612 was Spottiswoode's limit and he was averse from any further innovations preferring to let time work its way and use and custom familiarise men with the new position.

This view is supported by the Archbishop's account of the events of 1616, especially with reference to the Marquis of Huntly. That nobleman, under sentence of excommunication as a Romanist had been released from prison by the Chancellor in defiance of the Court of High Commission and the bishops had the support of the ministers in their protest. It reads strangely to find both Calderwood and Wodrow on the side of the High Commission, but that was not out of regard for the bishops but because Huntly was a Roman Catholic. Whatever their reasons ministers of all shades of thought were united

in this matter, and at the meeting of the General Assembly held in Aberdeen in August there was general dissatisfaction that the Marquis had been released from excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and this feeling was general, including both bishops and ministers, who were only appeased for their resentment at what they regarded as a slight to the authority of their Church by an apologetic letter of explanation from the English Primate.

This General Assembly really marks the highest point in Spottiswoode's career as a builder of Church polity. There was a great measure of agreement among the ministers who approved of a new Confession of Faith and proposals to draw up a Service Book for use in church, to maintain parish records and to have the Acts of the various Assemblies collected as a book of Canons for the Church. These acts, passed almost unanimously show how successful the policy of Archbishop Spottiswoode had been. So tactfully and skilfully had he played his part that he had achieved a degree of harmony in the Church which would have been inconceivable ten years before. Many of the ministers probably did not care greatly for Episcopacy, but they accepted it for the sake of peace.

If Spottiswoode was satisfied King James was far from being so, and almost at once he was on the move again. This



time he insisted on the insertion in the Canons of what became known as the Five Articles of Perth, namely kneeling at the reception of Holy Communion, private Communion of the sick, Private Baptism where necessary, Confirmation by the bishop, and observance of our Lord's Nativity, Passion, Resurrection and Assension and of the descent of the Holy Ghost.

This wholesale programme greatly alarmed the Primate who foresaw the undoing of all his years of toil. He protested that those articles could not be inserted among the Canons as they had never been approved by a General Assembly. He was still further alarmed the next year when King James, during his visit to Scotland proposed that "whatever conclusion was taken by his Majesty with the advice of the Archbishops and bishops.... should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." The bishops demurred and secured the amending inclusion of the phrase "and a competent number of the ministry," but James had shown his real mind when he asserted that "the bishops must rule the ministers and the king rule both, in matters indifferent and not repugnant to the Word of God."<sup>1</sup> This, as Spottiswoode foreknew, caused much heartburning among the ministers, and aroused to protest many who formerly had acquiesced in the new order.

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1. History Vol. iii p. 241.

Spottiswoode had a presentiment of trouble in store, because at a conference of bishops and ministers with the king he refused to answer for the ministers if the proposals of the king were put to them.<sup>1</sup> His pessimism was justified, because when a General Assembly was held at St. Andrews in November, 1617 the ministers decided to postpone further consideration of the points at issue until another Assembly, allowing Private Communion under certain conditions.

In consequence of this result Spottiswoode had to placate the king and try again next year. The ultimate acceptance of the Articles at Perth by an Assembly which met in August, 1618 was due in great part to the exertions of Spottiswoode, but as far as the ministers were concerned it was a near thing. The victory at Perth shows Spottiswoode not at the hour of triumph but at the beginning of defeat. From 1617 onwards he ceased to have an effective say in framing the polity of the church. Thenceforward it was his duty to try to win acceptance for innovations with most of which he had little sympathy. The Perth Articles, as he openly said, were not of his devising nor desiring, the Liturgy and Code of Canons of the reign of King Charles were contrary to his ideas. His great aim in the case of the latter was to postpone as far as possible the day, which he knew would be .

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1. History Vol. iii p. 247.

disastrous, of their introduction, but all the time he was fighting a losing battle. From 1618 until 1637 he had to be continually on the alert to preserve peace in the Church, but he knew that he had now no effective say in the conduct of affairs and he probably knew that the fault was his own.

John Spottiswoode's Episcopacy was of a rather modified type. He had turned from his former Presbyterianism but much of the old teaching still held good. He desired the replacement of Presbyterianism in the Church of Scotland by Episcopacy and he had achieved that by 1612 as fully as he desired. He wished to increase the authority of the bishops and to have a strong central authority in the Church in the form of the College of bishops. He was prepared to see alterations in the order of Church Services, by replacing John Knox's Liturgy by something more on the lines of English forms, and he was ready if need be to promote a certain amount of uniformity in organisation with the Church of England, but further than that he was not prepared to go. Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions continued to function as before although their activities were curtailed, and General Assemblies would have continued to be called, because Spottiswoode was sincere in his desire that ministers should be consulted about innovations. There is no reason to doubt his sincerity in

this. He would have had the main responsibility of introducing any innovations and if he could, as he knew how, secure approval of the Assembly for these measures his position would be immeasurably stronger.

This modified Episcopacy which satisfied Archbishop Spottiswoode was probably doomed to failure in any case, but had he been left alone after 1612 it might have formed a common meeting-ground for all parties. Certainly it was the model for the restored Episcopacy of King Charles II where again political events and external pressure from the central government rendered the position of the Episcopate intolerable. It says much for the sagacity of John Spottiswoode that his ideal of Church polity held the field from 1610 until 1637 and again from 1662 until 1689, more than half the entire century, and this under most unfavourable circumstances.

It might be pertinent to consider here why Spottiswoode did not make a stand against the later demands of King James and the actions of King Charles and Archbishop Laud, but that involves his conception of authority in the Church and gives us the clue both to his success and to his failure. Meanwhile we note here that Archbishop Spottiswoode was whole-heartedly with King James up to the formal establishment of Episcopacy on a regular diocesan basis, but the later additions of forms

and ceremonies alien to the practice of the Reformed Church of Scotland were in his view neither necessary nor expedient, and all the time he was desirous of securing the approval of the ministers for all that was proposed.

IV

The Church of Scotland in the reign of  
King James VI (1603-1625).

The ecclesiastical administration of Archbishop Spottiswoode falls naturally into two sections, the first comprising his work under the supervision of King James, the second his work in the reign of King Charles. There is a great difference between the two.

In the reign of King James, Spottiswoode had to deal with a king who knew what were the conditions existing in Church and State in Scotland, and who also was personally acquainted with many of those concerned in affairs. As a judge of Scottish character James had few equals. He not only knew his people thoroughly but was fully cognisant of the inside history of the Church in the years preceding the Union of the Crowns. The king had also a high opinion of his own learning, which was indeed considerable, and regarded himself as at least equal as a theologian to any minister in Scotland. He had also a fussy interfering temper and loved to have his own way, especially at the expense of those whom he disliked, and he had come to dislike the Presbyterians of Scotland very much.

In the circumstances it was impossible for the Archbishop to try to conceal from the king what he would know very well

and it was seemingly equally impossible for the king to refrain from displaying his power and learning. As he learned how to govern Scotland from his desk in London he tried to govern the Church of Scotland in the same way, but here the position was not quite the same. In civil administration the king had no rival and no competing authority; in the Church he had both. The head of the Church is Jesus Christ, and His authority is paramount. Consequently it was not difficult for ministers who disagreed with the royal views to find grounds for resistance, and they could appeal for authority primarily to the Scriptures and secondarily to the General Assembly of the Church.

As James could do nothing about Scripture or the Faith of the Church, he directed his attention to the human element, the General Assembly, and one of his first actions on his removal to England was to postpone for another year the next meeting of the General Assembly, then the following year he did the same and when certain ministers held that meeting in Aberdeen in 1605 on the day originally arranged, they were arraigned on a charge of high treason. Meanwhile such bishops as had been appointed were ministers of parishes with no jurisdiction over the sees whose designation they bore. Thus in August 1604 we find Spottiswoode, the Archbishop of Glasgow and Law, Bishop of Orkney subscribing the Confession of Faith

as members of the Presbytery of Linlithgow.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion they were charged with trying to overthrow the established discipline. Here obviously the bishops have no authority, and in 1605 the only authority Spottiswoode has is that of a Commissioner of the General Assembly of 1600, which commission was continued from year to year in view of there being no meeting of the Assembly, but this was no authority as the commission should have lapsed after a year, or so Wodrow asserts.<sup>2</sup> The Bishops at this time had a seat in Parliament and voted there, but many ministers disapproved of this, and some bishops were not among those nominated for the Estate in Parliament.

Until the General Assembly of 1606 Archbishop Spottiswoode was the channel whereby the king tried to strengthen his following in the ranks of the ministers, but we can hardly talk of episcopal administration. Spottiswoode was the link between James and the Church of Scotland and no more, a worker in the king's service. We have a glimpse of the Archbishop in January 1605 commending Principal Charteris and John Hall, and giving the king an account of his actions and of some of the opposition he had to meet,<sup>3</sup> and a few months later he

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1. Life p. 373.

2. Life p. 374.

3. Life p. 376.



complains about the preachers in Edinburgh. As the capital city was a sounding board for national sentiment James had instructed the Commissioners of Assembly to see that only those of whom they approved preached in Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> but the Presbytery appointed preachers who occupied the pulpits of the city and denounced Episcopacy and the bishops. Spottiswoode suggests orders from the King to the Commissioners, and if they fail to give satisfaction, to the Privy Council.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that Spottiswoode was not in favour of going to extremes against the ministers who kept the Assembly in that year, because he did not want to arouse any more feeling than was necessary. He recognises that in matters ecclesiastical he had no authority himself. The king must give instructions; the king has authority, and the Council are regarded as competent to deal with ministers.

When Episcopacy was introduced in 1606 it was Spottiswoode who preached before Parliament, and from then until 1610 his great aim was to get as many constant moderators of Presbyteries as was possible to be of his way of thinking and so to control to some extent the debates of these bodies. He also took a leading part in the events which followed the various Assemblies and Parliaments. This is understandable.

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1. Life p. 377.

2. Life p. 378.

He had the ear of the king, and was entrusted with the task of reporting what had been done. It is noteworthy that up to 1608 he kept well in the background of ecclesiastical affairs, and not until 1610 was he elected Moderator of the General Assembly, but during these years he had been having meetings of bishops and preparing the way for the time when the bishops would be a responsible body with some authority. Most of his surviving letters during this period were written from Edinburgh as his presence was needed at the main centre of civil administration, as there was yet no possibility of the authority of the bishops being acknowledged by the other ministers.

Meantime the king was urging the bishops to assume the direction of the affairs of the Church but the preparatory work was not yet done,<sup>1</sup> although in 1609 the bishops convened and sent up a memorial to the king<sup>2</sup> dealing with the recent meeting of Parliament; the Roman Catholic Marquis of Huntly and Earl of Erroll; ministers who were confined for opposing the new order, erection of peerages in reference to the provision of stipends for ministers in residence on the estates; the bishops with reference to the Commissariots and a meeting with ministers; bishops preaching in Edinburgh at

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1. History vol. iii p. 205.

2. Life pp. 385-387; Calderwood vol. vii pp. 5-8.

the time of the meeting of Parliament; arrangements for Leith Church where the assistant to the aged Bishop Lindsay of Ross had been confined to New Abbey; and a pension for the Bishop of Caithness.

This comprehensive document shows how much administration was already in the hands of the bishops, and how much was still to be done. The royal authority had to be invoked and all had to be referred to the King. No jurisdiction had yet been assumed by the prelates, who were still feeling their way and uncertain of their position.

At the General Assembly held in Linlithgow in 1608 a conference between the bishops and certain ministers had been decided on. This meeting convened at Falkland on 4th May, 1609 to discuss the "reformation of discipline" which was causing considerable controversy in the Church. Calderwood<sup>1</sup> gives a full account of the conference which naturally proved fruitless, but which none the less showed that an attempt was made to reach some agreement, but no compromise was possible between the irreconcilables.

The establishment of the Court of High Commission in February 1610<sup>2</sup> gave the bishops power, and restored to them metropolitan jurisdiction, but as Grub points out<sup>3</sup> this implied

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1. Vol. vii pp. 27-37.

2. Life pp. 391-392; Calderwood Vol. vii 57-63.

3. Eccles. Hist. of Scotland Vol. ii p. 292.

that the king was the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and what he gave he could also take away.

In March of that year, in spite of everything we find Spottiswoode still uncertain about the success that would attend his efforts to have Episcopacy formally established,<sup>1</sup> and a great deal of pressure was exercised to ensure success, and his sermon to the General Assembly in June shows that he can see his way more clearly. Religion, i.e. Reform, was "brought in by confusion, it must be maintained by order, it was brought in against authority, it must be maintained by authority."<sup>2</sup> This shows that the Archbishop was now ready to take over administration of the Church. The 'order' in the Church was to be maintained by the bishops, and the 'authority' behind them was to be the Crown. It is significant that only five voted against his being chosen Moderator. He had now the support of a large body of the ministry, and could move more freely. Four years of patient building up a new organisation following on three years of ground work had borne fruit, and a fully constituted Episcopacy was now in being and ready to function.

It was in this year 1610 that Parliament restored powers of jurisdiction to the bishops, and the revenues of the dioceses

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1. Life p. 393.

2. Calderwood Vol. vii p. 94.

became theirs, in name at least. Formerly they had been allotted to the Lords of Session, who were now granted a sum of not more than £10,000 from customs revenue.

We find from Calderwood<sup>1</sup> that Spottiswoode is appointed by the king to try John Fairfoul minister at Dunfermline for praying for distressed ministers within and without the kingdom. It is to be noted that the king is the one actively concerned, the Archbishop being merely nominated for the occasion. This is interesting as showing that such a matter could be regarded as falling within the provenance of the king. A few years earlier the whole Church would have been roused to vigorous protest at what they would have regarded as a monstrous infringement of their privileges, the alleged offence being committed in Church and therefore to be tried only in a duly recognised Church court.

Soon after this the Archbishop was made one of the extra-ordinary Lords of Session and so was given a post in the administration of civil justice. This was again contrary to Church practice, as the Reformed ministers were strong in their assertion that the holding of a post in civil or judicial administration was incompatible with the duty of exercising the pastoral office of a minister.

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1. Vol. vii p. 53.

Thus far we have seen the gradual establishment of the machinery for governing the Church, and the increasing prestige of Spottiswoode himself. He was nominally junior to Gladstones Archbishop of St. Andrews, but in fact he was by far the ablest of the bishops and so had to undertake the main share in the government of the Church after Episcopacy had been formally established, which was achieved in 1610 by resolution of the General Assembly of the Church and by decree of the Estates of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Now we must consider how the machinery of government functioned.

The Court of High Commission, designed to give power to bolster up the rather precarious authority of the Episcopate, might have been an instrument of tyranny and was so regarded by many, but in fact that does not seem to have occurred. Although Spottiswoode seems, at least later, to have regarded the establishment of this Court as a mistake,<sup>2</sup> yet its functioning does not seem to have been very oppressive. Taking all the cases recorded by Calderwood we find that from 1615 up to 1625, both inclusive, fewer than fifty ministers appeared before the court, and most of these were charged with non-conformity with the Articles agreed to at the General Assembly at Perth in 1618, usually that Article about kneeling

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1. Cf. p. 154.

2. Dr. Cooper: Trans. Glas. Arch. Soc. Vol.vii p. 90.

at the reception of Holy Communion. Most of those proceeded against received an admonition and only a few confined (some within the bounds of their own parish) or deprived, and the severer sentence was usually for a repetition of the offence. Allowing that Calderwood might not include all cases (although he would mention as many as he could), the fact that in eleven years so few were cited and so few of these received any but very mild punishment, shows that the administration of Archbishop Spottiswoode was characterised by great leniency and mildness. He himself never cared for the Perth Articles in themselves and seemed to be content that ministers should please themselves, as on one occasion, getting no satisfaction from a group of ministers summoned before the Court to answer for their non-conformity, the following day he met some of them, and as they still refused compliance he urged them to "be quiet, and not hinder others who have promised, sworn and subscribed."<sup>1</sup> As a sample of the laxity of the Court we may quote the instance when "Mr. George Grier his name was scraped out of the summons at the Earl of Melrose's desire."<sup>2</sup> This does not give the impression of a severe and tyrannous tribunal, and the total number of ministers brought before the Court in that long period of eleven years was actually less than

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1. Calderwood Vol. vii p. 426.

2. Calderwood Vol. vii p. 424.

the number who were deposed and excommunicated by the triumphant Presbyterians between December 1638 and November 1639. This is often overlooked.

The fact was the Primate realised that the Articles concluded at Perth had introduced a new element into what had hitherto been mainly an ecclesiastical and clerical controversy. That element was the laity, most of whom were wedded to established practice, and Spottiswoode knew that to try to coerce them would lead to trouble, the very thing he was anxious to avoid. Unfortunately he had left himself no choice in the matter. In view of his regard for the royal authority he had handed over the real control of the Church to the king, and now could only do his best to preserve peace so that in time calmness might return. All through the closing years of the reign of King James he strove to maintain the status quo as nearly as possible so that the sensibilities of the people might in time be reconciled to a gradual change in the usage. Always a peace lover, he was so more than ever now, because he probably realised that his difficulties were to a great extent of his own creating. Having linked his cause to the royal authority he had now to reconcile himself to following where the king led, and to trying to bring a reluctant people along the same path.



During the reign of King James, Archbishop Spottiswoode in his sphere as diocesan bishop seems to have been careful in carrying out his duties. He held his Diocesan Synods regularly and tried to secure the approval of the clergy for what was proposed there. He even got permission for ministers sentenced to confinement to attend Synod meetings,<sup>1</sup> although this meant allowing them to express opinions which on most church matters would be contrary to his own. He tried to exercise a proper supervision over his clergy as may be instanced in the case of replacing George Dunbar,<sup>2</sup> minister at Ayr who had been confined to Dumbarton (by the Privy Council) for praying for the banished ministers. A passage in the same letter is revealing. "The ministers were all present, save one Mr. James Inglis, who made a sermon of conscience.....because I hear it was of no great consequence, some of them were instant with me for allowing him a conference. I yielded (if I mistake not the word). We passed our affairs quietly enough, and so parted."<sup>3</sup> There is little of oppression here.

It is otherwise however when we turn to his dealing with John Ogilvy a Jesuit who was apprehended at Glasgow towards

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1. Calderwood Vol. vii p. 181.

2. Life p. 400.

3. Life p. 399.

the end of 1614. Spottiswoode played a conspicuous part in the trial in February 1615 and he was instrumental in securing the condemnation of Ogilvy who was sentenced to death, and hanged. The proceedings reflect no great credit on Spottiswoode now as the sentence was not for saying Mass but for holding dangerous opinions about the Pope's authority in reference to King James. But it must be remembered that at the time there were very great fears of a revival of Roman Catholicism and it was felt that such a revival would mean death to non-Papists and an insurrection against the king. In November, 1614, referring to the impending trial, Spottiswoode had written "The boldness of the enemy, and their preparation, appears such, as I am out of doubt that at this time they expected some mischief to have been wrought there against his Majesty's life..... I am not able to express to you our danger, nor would believe it.... and [we] beseech you.... to be careful..... that his life in whom consists all our lives, and the life of Religion itself, be not in hazard through their treacherous desperate attempts".<sup>1</sup> Even so the case does not show Spottiswoode in a favourable light, and is notable as being the one instance in which he went to extremes in enforcing the law against religious opponents. To his contemporaries,

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1. Life pp. 414-415.

even his opponents, his conduct in this case was regarded as rather praiseworthy.

Similarly when he was transferred to the primatial see of St. Andrews in August 1615 he continued his endeavours to promote the welfare of his diocese. At his first Synod he reproved the Archdeacon of St. Andrews (Alexander Gladstones) for negligence and faults of behaviour;<sup>1</sup> we find him anxious to have John Guthrie as a minister in Edinburgh even although an opponent of the Perth Articles,<sup>2</sup> and he recommends Walter Whiteford (afterwards Bishop of Brechin) to the charge of Liberton.<sup>3</sup> Against the nominee of Lord Morton and Lord Stormont he refused presentation as the candidate would not subscribe to the Articles of Perth so another man had to be brought forward by the two noblemen.<sup>4</sup> These examples show him trying to ensure the peace of his diocese by accepting only such as would be likely to preserve that peace, even at the risk of giving offence to noble lay patrons. The building of the church at Dairsie in 1621 was not a piece of self-glorification but an attempt to encourage others to do likewise so that the Church might be equipped with decent furnishing for the service of God. Incidentally about this time there was quite a lot of churches built, and not a few of the "old"

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1. Life p. 427.

2. Life p. 460.

3. Life p. 463.

4. Life p. 465.

churches in various parts of the country date from the early seventeenth century. This building was in many cases a necessity as a large number of the ancient churches had been badly damaged during or shortly after the Reformation, and in many cases little maintenance or repair work had been done. Also at this time there was issued the Scottish Psalter with music (1st edition 1615) which began the process of enriching the liturgical worship of the Church. There were during Spottiswoode's tenure of the Primacy several editions of the Psalter culminating in the famous edition of 1635. Besides this there was the project for liturgical reform resulting from the meeting of the General Assembly in Aberdeen in 1616.

Although it would be stretching the truth beyond reason to attribute all the above movements to the direction and genius of the Primate, yet these give clear evidence of great vitality in the Church, and Archbishop Spottiswoode was called to guide that Church at a time when its energies were fast flowing, and it is a tribute to his domestic administration that so much was accomplished so peaceably. The Archbishop must have had some share in most of these projects even if only an indirect share. There was little done in the Church of Scotland as a whole that was not under his direction or at least with his cognisance.

So far little has been said about the Articles of Perth. The reason is not far to seek. These Articles have already been discussed from several different aspects, but they have little connection with Archbishop Spottiswoode's administration. They made his task much more difficult but they were not of his devising, and they show up clearly the weakness of his whole position. Having given over the real direction of the Church to King James, Spottiswoode could only try to nullify the ill effects of the king's rash motions.

His activity, careful administration and diligent care for what he deemed to be the well-being of the Church marks John Spottiswoode as the great figure in ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland during the reign of King James. Probably his greatest achievements were to secure the appointment of Andrew Boyd as Bishop of Argyll and Patrick Forbes as Bishop of Aberdeen. Boyd wrote in February 1612 (1613?) "I have seen your Lordship's letter, bearing your motion to his Majesty, anent that vacant room of Argyll in my favours, and his Majesty's good and gracious mind towards me. What am I or what is in me, to procure such royal favour? the report whereof animates me to.....be careful of the House of God, and obedience to all employments of my most gracious Prince, in all affairs concerning the Spiritual or Civil Republic."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Life p. 402.

Boyd was as good as his word. Dr. Grub quotes<sup>1</sup> Burnet's encomium "He found his diocese overrun with ignorance and barbarity, so that in many places the name of Christ was not known; but he went about that apostolical work of planting the Gospel, with a particular industry, and almost with equal success. He got churches and schools to be raised and endowed everywhere, and lived to see a great blessing on his endeavours; so that he is not so much as named in that country to this day but with a particular veneration, even by those who are otherwise no way equitable to that order."

The work of Bishop Patrick Forbes in Aberdeen is too well known and too universally applauded to be mentioned here, but the part played by Archbishop Spottiswoode in procuring Forbes's consent to the office should not be overlooked. He was very anxious that Forbes should accept nomination as he knew that the Episcopate needed strengthening and wanted very much to secure the added prestige that Forbes would bring to that body. In this matter we see again the care that Spottiswoode took to make the episcopal regime acceptable to his fellow-countrymen.

In all this we must remember that although James had the final word in church matters he normally left the general supervision of the Church of Scotland in the hands of his

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1. Eccles. Hist. of Scotland Vol. ii p. 370.

able Primate who had to see to the day to day working of the regime, the king contenting himself with occasional incursions, usually ill-advised, into ecclesiastical politics. The effect of these innovations was generally unfortunate, but the tact and address of Archbishop Spottiswoode usually managed to avert the worst consequences of the king's unfortunate experiments. The Primate also up to 1625 had this advantage that James had no English advisers to urge him on to impossible expedients; he was his own counsellor, and however high-handed he might be in his dealings with the Scottish Church he knew when to stop. His steps towards a reform in the organisation and worship in the Church of Scotland caused much trouble but no great popular resentment. We find that at the end of the reign of King James the Church was settling down to some sort of peace, and much of the credit for that is due to the skill, diplomacy, and general ability of Archbishop Spottiswoode.

THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

Although for some time after 1625 it seemed as if nothing had been altered by the accession of King Charles to the throne of his father, in fact that event was of momentous significance and the general position of Archbishop Spottiswoode was greatly modified. Hitherto he had been dealing with one who knew his mind and his fellow countrymen thoroughly, and the general administration of the Church of Scotland was in fairly capable hands. Those hands were not Spottiswoode's but the king's, whose behests the Primate carried into effect as well as circumstances permitted, softening as best he could the asperities on both sides. He had the advantage that if James had his own way in those things which required legislation by the Church the king was fairly satisfied if opposition was not too pronounced, and the years from 1618 had been a breathing space in which the Church was gradually, although often unwillingly, growing used to the changed situation. Such opposition as there was, lacking definite leadership, was in the main confined to comparatively few places, e.g. Edinburgh, Fife, the Lothians and some Border and South West districts. By his adroit handling of such outbreaks



as occurred Spottiswoode was able to maintain general peace, and by a judicious turning of a blind eye no great outburst was caused.

Now the whole situation was changed. Instead of the wordly wise James there was the strict, austere, humourless Charles, imbued not only with moral principles of a narrow sort but also with a deep sense of duty and royal authority.

For some years Charles was preoccupied with events in England and on the Continent, and Scotland and its Church was left alone. The new king indeed made a statesmanlike gesture by granting suspension of operation of the Articles of Perth as far as concerned those ministers who had been admitted to their charges before the Articles had been passed. At the same time he released under an amnesty such ministers as had been imprisoned.<sup>1</sup> He also effected a reasonable and satisfactory solution of the tithe problem, giving adequate compensation and security to tithe owners.<sup>2</sup>

Between these two events which belong to 1626 and 1629 a meeting of Bishops and ministers took place in Edinburgh on 17th July, 1627 called by the Primate who however was not present. Four bishops (Ross, who presided, Galloway, Argyll and Caithness) and a large number of ministers

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1. Life pp. 484-485.

2. cf. Gardiner Vol.vii pp. 278-280; Grub Vol. ii p. 337.

representing many presbyteries convened, the purpose being to consider holding a Fast throughout the country and contributing towards the expenses of a resident Commissioner at Court. Both points were accepted.<sup>1</sup>

This meeting is an example of how Spottiswoode administered the affairs of the Church. The ministers present were by no means all favourable to the existing regime, and questions were asked about the status of the meeting, whether it were a General Assembly or no, about banished ministers, and about the need for calling a General Assembly. We see therefore that such a meeting was a valuable means of learning the feeling of the ministers in general. From what he learned at such meetings the Archbishop could form his plans for keeping the Church at peace. Such ministers as wished could make a fuss at these meetings and no great harm would be done as the gathering was unofficial, and the presence of men from places where Episcopacy was favoured would prevent any adverse decisions being reached, which might embarrass the Primate. Also the agenda was as far as possible non-controversial.

But while Spottiswoode was keeping things fairly quiet in Scotland, elsewhere matters were mooted which were to undo all his work. The king was at this time coming to rely more and more in matters ecclesiastical on William Laud, Bishop of

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1. Life pp. 490-494.

London. Laud was at this time practically leading the Church of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbott, was out of favour with the king on account of his leanings to Puritanism, and the main ruler of the Church was the Bishop of London.

Laud had a tidy mind and he was shocked by the slovenly manner in which services were taken and by the dirty, ill-cared for appearance of many of the churches, and he set himself to enforce discipline order and reverence. To a great extent he succeeded, and to him is due much of the credit for progress made towards a better standard in the Church of England, but unfortunately he confused a reverent and seemly order with spirituality, and imagined that any who opposed him in his attempt to improve the standard of worship was wrong. He could not conceive that the real things of the spirit cannot be expressed in words or actions. To him the outward appearance was all-important. Also he could not differentiate between fussy interference in small details and real appreciation of spiritual experience. By tactlessness and concentration on unimportant points of ceremonial he aroused much hostility. And it was to Laud that King Charles now turned for advice on the organisation of the Church of Scotland.

A more unfortunate choice could not have been made. If Laud aroused resentment in England where ritual observance

had always existed one can imagine what would be the effect of his ideas on Scotland. Added to that Laud knew nothing of Scotland or its ecclesiastical tradition since the Reformation.

The king loved an ordered and seemly form of service. To him the condition of the Church of Scotland must have seemed shocking: no altar, no ornaments, no proper vesture for ministers, not even for bishops, no liturgy worthy of the name. This must all be changed, and Bishop Laud, already engaged in similar work in England, was the obvious means whereby beauty and form might be introduced into the life of the northern Church also. A start had to be made somewhere, and the liturgy seemed to be the most promising line of approach. King James had been anxious to secure as much uniformity as possible between the Churches of England and Scotland, and at the General Assembly in Aberdeen in 1616 there had been undertaken the task of preparing a new Service Book. This book was still in the hands of Archbishop Spottiswoode, and has already been considered. It marked the extreme limit to which Scotland was prepared to go liturgically, and its standards of worship fell far below those of the Book of Common Prayer of the time.

The king asked to have sight of this Scottish book, and was painfully surprised when he saw it. Both he and Laud

agreed that it was not good enough, and both also desired that the English Service Book be introduced into Scotland so that there would be a uniform order throughout the kingdoms. The Scottish prelates averred that owing to jealousy of England such a step would be impracticable and insisted that a book drawn up in Scotland would be much better received,<sup>1</sup> and so it was agreed.

Meanwhile what of Spottiswoode? His heart must have been full of misgivings. It was in 1629 that the Aberdeen Liturgy had been examined by the king, and soon the Primate knew that Scotland was going to be shocked to the core. This was particularly unfortunate for Spottiswoode, because the Church of Scotland was quieter than it had been for many a long day. The original tolerance of the king and the fortunate issue of the tithe controversy had together resulted in the strengthening of the attachment between the king and the ministers who knew how much they owed to Charles.<sup>2</sup> Episcopacy was tolerated if not welcomed and the easy rule of Spottiswoode did not press hard on tender consciences. There was no outstanding leader among the Presbyterians whose fortunes were at a low ebb. The passage of time had allowed charges to be filled by men favoured by the bishops and opposition was

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1. Sprott Intro p. XXXIX

2. cf. Gardiner Vol. vii pp. 279-280.

negligible. The non-enforcement of the Perth Articles and their general non-observance was tacitly accepted except when action was almost invited, and the Church had settled down to a quiet, not to say somnolence, which was in great contrast to the position ten years earlier. A few more years of quiet and the future of the Establishment would be assured.

And now everything was in the melting pot once more, and disaster seemed imminent. There was only one thing to do, and that was to temporise. This course of inaction naturally was fatal. We can see now that the proper thing to do was to make a stand and tell the king that the bishops, who nominally were rulers of the Church, would have none of this new project. The Perth Articles had been sufficiently divisive, but a set Liturgy would be ten times worse, and the English rite would be most obnoxious. The peace of the Church was in danger; and the older bishops, who had laboured so hard for peace, should have made this last effort.

But the real leadership of the Church had passed from the bishops. In their Erastianism they had indissolubly and fatally linked their cause with the royal authority. The moral leadership of the Church now passed from them. While they hesitated the younger bishops, mainly of the ecclesiastical outlook of Laud, pressed on with the new project, and the

dissenting ministers took fresh heart from the new threat to their principles and prepared for resistance. The only man amongst the bishops who might have spoken out was ill; Bishop Forbes of Aberdeen. The Archbishop, now an old man, was not fit either by temperament or principle to control the new forces let loose. So long as it was a matter of maintaining peace in the Church he was in his element, but to contend with the king, Laud, the younger bishops and Presbyterians was too much for him, especially in a matter on which he had no great feelings. So he played for time, deferring the evil day as long as he could.

Meanwhile he still cared for the Church. The visit of King Charles in 1633 had shown how little he counted against Laud who had the direction of the coronation ceremonies. The English Prayer Book had been introduced into the public worship at St. Giles<sup>1</sup> and the Episcopal habit was worn on the occasion of the royal visit. But whatever the Primate thought of these things, and there is nothing to suggest that he disapproved, or approved, he made provision for the better supervision of his own large diocese. The Lothians and other parts of the archdiocese south of the Forth were disjoined from the rest and erected into a separate diocese of Edinburgh, with St. Giles

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1. Gardiner Vol. vii p. 288; Grub Vol. ii p. 346.

as the Cathedral church and William Forbes as bishop. This was done at the Primate's request, probably because he felt the strain of much travelling as he grew older.

For the next few years while the Archbishop continued as before the fate of the Church was decided elsewhere. In 1635 on the death of the Earl of Kinnoull, Chancellor of Scotland, Spottiswoode was appointed to fill the vacancy. This must have been a barren honour, and doubtful promotion. Presumably designed to ensure support from the highest office in the land for the royal projects, the move aroused the resentment of the lay nobles, and gave further offence to the Presbyterians who objected to Churchmen holding any administrative office in the legal or civil sphere.

The following year saw the issue of the Code of Canons. Although Charles had too great regard for the proprieties to ignore the Primate of Scotland in such an important matter Spottiswoode had little share in forming the Code, which was issued by royal authority. The Canons bore no resemblance to any ecclesiastical legislation in Scotland since the Reformation, and an interesting point which does not seem to have been considered before is raised by the manner of their issue. Did Spottiswoode inform the king that there was no prospect of the Code being endorsed in Scotland? There seems to have been no attempt made to secure the approval of the Scottish bishops



as a whole although some of them seem to have had some share in the work, but the Primate does not seem to have been one of them.<sup>1</sup> Does this mark the time when the direction of the Scottish Church was taken out of the hands of Spottiswoode? He must have had a considerable amount of work to do as Chancellor, and if he were lukewarm or in opposition to the Code of Canons it may have been decided to go ahead on royal authority only. This is conjecture. A letter is preserved by Wodrow<sup>2</sup> written by Spottiswoode and signed by the Bishops of Moray, Dunblane and Brechin as well as both Archbishops. Dated April 2nd, 1635 it refers to the Bishop of Ross, who was the bearer of the missive, "aiding the Liturgy and Canons," it goes on "we all wish a full conformity in the Churches, but your Grace knoweth that this must be the work of time." Hopes are expressed for a further advance in ecclesiastical matters, but of course by now everything was being done by Laud who had been since 1633 Archbishop of Canterbury. This is clearly shown in a letter from Laud to Spottiswoode dated November 10th, 1635<sup>3</sup> which contains the phrases "Now at this time you shall receive nothing but what is commanded by the King, and must be my part to act in the present and future business for the Church of Scotland," "for all the Church

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1. cf. Grub Vol. ii p. 366.

2. Life p. 529.

3. Life p. 530.

business which must come before the Exchequer.....you are immutably to hold this rule, and that by His Majesty's most strict and special command, namely that yourself or the Lord Ross do privately acquaint the Earl of Traquair with it," "If at any time your Lordships and my Lord Traquair shall..... differ in judgement..... let it rest, and write up either to His Majesty or myself." "This is all which I have in command to deliver to you, and I shall not mingle with it any particulars of my own". Here we perceive that the Primate of Scotland is acting entirely under the orders of the king, and if the last sentence means anything it means that Laud also could give instructions. In the circumstances the only role that Spottiswoode can play is that of adviser, and his advice was being more and more ignored. A subsidiary task was also assigned to him, namely that of continuing to keep Scotland quiet while the new measures were prepared.

A measure of the relative insignificance of Spottiswoode is indicated in another letter from Laud on 1st December, 1635. The Bishop of Aberdeen had permitted a fast to be kept in his diocese on a Sunday. Laud writes<sup>1</sup> "His Majesty's express will and command to your Grace is, that you and my Lord Glasgow take order with all the bishops in your several Provinces respectively that no man presume to suffer or command any Fast...

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1. Life p. 532.

without the special leave and command of the King, to whose power it belongs, and not to them." The same letter shows where the real direction of affairs lay: "now the King is settling that Church against all things that were defective in it, and against the countinuanance of all unwarrantable customs." The nominal rulers had no say in what was being propounded.

Similarly with the Liturgy Spottiswoode had no real say in the matter. In October 1636 the King sent down a series of "Instructions from His Sacred Majesty to the Archbishops and Bishops in Scotland," which shows this clearly. The Bishops had to "keep such Catholic Saints as are in the English (Kalendar) ... but in no case omit Saint George and Patrick....in giving Orders to Presbyters.... keep the words of the English Book, without change...., insert in the Lessons..... out of the Book of Wisdom the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 Chapters; and out of the Book of Ecclesiasticus the 1, 2, 5, 8, 35 and 49 Chapters." The Scottish Episcopate was now merely a body for carrying out the behests of Whitehall.

There is little more to be said. The Liturgy of 1637 was used for the first time on July 23rd and a by no means spontaneous outburst of mob violence soon ended its brief period of use. Now the Scottish bishops of the old school

had to pay the penalty of their shiftless indecision, and the Primate must shoulder the chief blame. Had he spoken clearly, decisively and openly a few years earlier it is unlikely that he would have greatly influenced the course of events, but at least he could be absolved from his great share in the fiasco. Probably he did give advice which was not palatable to Charles and Laud, but he did not go far enough for fear of arousing their wrath, and in consequence he had not only the ignominy of being used as their instrument for carrying through projects which he disliked, but also in the end he aroused in another quarter a yet more dire wrath.

It is here that we see the great difference between James and Charles. James would never have gone the length that his son went. He might have ignored Spottiswoode's advice officially, but he would have, of his own initiative, taken the course suggested, not because he regarded the Archbishop as a wise and prudent counsellor but because he knew himself as well as any could tell him the reactions to his moves. But with Charles it was otherwise. Advice or common prudence meant nothing to him in matters of principle, and from the highest motives he would, and did, rush headlong to disaster because it was to him quite inconceivable that any person could hold different views. Spottiswoode could never have saved the Establishment he led in 1637, but he might have

saved a great deal of his reputation if years earlier he had firmly refused to submit to dictation from London and had quite clearly and unequivocally warned Charles of the trouble he was stirring up for himself and others by tactless handling of a very difficult situation. He had the chance in 1629 on the question of tithes and more especially in the matter of liturgical reforms. Again there was an opportunity provided by the royal visit to Scotland in 1633 when the opposition in Parliament was very strong on the statute ratifying the powers already granted to the king of regulating the habit of clergymen. This clause was included in a Bill concerning the royal prerogative, yet the majority was small in favour of the king.<sup>1</sup> In this incident Spottiswoode had a last chance to avert disaster, but he allowed the opportunity to go by, probably he did not see it as an opportunity at all, and thereafter he was powerless.

Gardiner in his "History of England, 1603-1642" says<sup>2</sup> "It was because the Scottish bishops had no word to speak in the great contest which was arising, because, being neither strong partisans nor wise mediators, they drifted helplessly like logs on the current of affairs, that their very name

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1. Gardiner Vol. vii pp. 286-291; Grub Vol. ii pp. 345-346.

2. Vol. vi pp. 284-285.

stank in the nostrils of the Scottish nation, and that they were credited with all the mischief which they had done nothing to remedy. The great Italian poet would have condemned them without appeal to an endless comradeship with those who were alike displeasing to God and to His enemies. The moral strength which is based on the conviction that a man ought to think and speak independently of the decision of the King was passing over, if it had not already passed over, to their opponents."

This passage with its tone of high moral censure would probably find a ready echo in the hearts of many today, and be regarded as a fair and accurate statement of fact. Actually it is a piece of pompous rodomontade, and the sort of writing one might expect from an Oxford don in the most complacent period of the reign of Queen Victoria. The cause of the wrath of Gardiner was a matter of what dress clergy should wear while conducting Divine Service in Church, coupled with much needed liturgical reform, on which all parties were agreed, and the introduction of some form of regular ecclesiastical discipline which also was much to be desired. Surely more was at stake than that. It was not mere ecclesiastical points which caused the ultimate conflagration in Scotland any more than in England. Religion certainly

played a part in the events which culminated in the Civil War, but religion as such played a minor role. Religion was often the ostensible cause of difference between the parties, but the real reason was often far other, taxation and its uses, the demand of the growing middle class for a greater share in the government, the encroachment of the royal authority on the liberties of those who were not used to such conduct from the king. These and other reasons have all to be taken into account when considering the state of the country during the reign of King Charles I. This is not to minimise the religious causes, but whatever the bishops might have said to the king would have had little effect. The Presbyterians were irreconcilable. The violence of their language was but fitted to the violence of their feelings, and always they were egged on by a faction in the state who were fearful of the effects which the royal policy might have on themselves. It is difficult to see what the bishops could have done. In the event the Code of Canons was issued by royal authority and the Prayer Book was similarly enforced. To say that the bishops were "neither strong partisans nor wise mediators" shows a fundamental misconception of the entire situation. They were of the royalist party, and several of them were to suffer for their adherence to that party, and there was no chance for any mediation. In modern times we have grown used to the

idea of compromise and arbitration; such a course might have been acceptable to the episcopal party but never to the presbyterian. Had Gardiner lived after 1945 his ideas on the acceptability of arbitration and mediation might have been somewhat modified, and the present international cleavage is rather like the position in Scotland in the seventeenth century.

It may be admitted that a stronger policy by the bishops would have tended to raise their reputation in the eyes of posterity, but what would such a policy have involved at the time? It would have meant a vigorous and rigorous repression of their opponents, and would have given some justification to the charges of tyranny so often hurled at the episcopate. In fact Spottiswoode tried mediation often but of course it failed to have any effect. He was lenient in his dealings with those brought to him for punishment and his whole tendency was towards placating the implacable. He was a peace maker, but he failed to make peace.

To consider why Spottiswoode and his fellows seem to justify the censures of the nineteenth century and later historians it is necessary to take account of their reasons for their course of action, and much of what has gone before will be unintelligible unless it is remembered that we are dealing



with the early seventeenth century when ideas now commonplace with us were scarcely beginning to emerge. A great cause of difficulty to the understanding of Scottish or English affairs under the Stuart dynasty is an inability to realise the seventeenth century conception of authority. This affects Church history as well as political history, and now we must turn to that problem. Here we find the key to much that is to us incomprehensible, and our next task is to consider the idea of authority in the Stuart age and how that conception of authority influenced John Spottiswoode in his office as Primate of Scotland and chief ecclesiastical figure of the reigns of James VI and Charles I.

VI

CHURCH AND THRONE IN SCOTLAND.

There can be little doubt in the mind of one who studies the course of ecclesiastical history in Scotland in the early part of the seventeenth century that the course pursued by King James was such as to make the Church of that country little other than a department of the royal state administration. Probably the king would have vigorously denied any such assertion and he would have been sincere in his denial, because his course of conduct and manner of dealing with the Church would not, in his view, be anything like the administration of a state department: but in the long run his methods had that general effect. We have his own words recorded by Archbishop Spottiswoode that the "bishops must rule the ministers and the king rule both."<sup>1</sup> James never forgot the domination of the ministers in the days of his minority, and as he grew older he perceived that if they were allowed to continue in their courses unchecked they would in time undermine the authority of the Crown. From their pulpits they claimed the right to criticise anyone and everyone with impunity. They could, and did, animadvert on royal policies, claiming a new sort of benefit of clergy. Their method was to mention and comment

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1. History Vol. iii p. 241.

on certain aspects of the civil government, and when charged with their offence they would plead the privilege of the Church and decline the jurisdiction of the civil courts and demand that the matter in question be remitted to a General Assembly or other Church tribunal.

If this were allowed to develop it would mean that the ministers, many of whom were politically minded, could use their pulpits as political platforms and yet, although commenting on and trying to influence civil affairs, be immune from the jurisdiction of civil courts. Thus we have the case of David Black who in 1596 denounced Queen Elizabeth as an atheist, and asserted that all kings were children of the devil, and that Anne of Denmark, the wife of King James was not worth praying for. When at the instigation of the English Ambassador, he was summoned before the Privy Council, Black declined to appear before the Council and claimed to be judged in a Church court. A committee of ministers approved his stand.<sup>1</sup> About the same time John Welsh preaching in St. Giles' Church in Edinburgh declared the king possessed of a devil and said that his subjects might lawfully take the sword out of his hand.<sup>2</sup> David Bruce and three other ministers wrote to Lord Hamilton, who was in the line of succession to the throne, and suggested that Hamilton put himself at the head of the

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1. cf. Grub Eccles. Hist. of Scotland Vol. ii p. 266.

2. Grub Vol. ii p. 268.

godly barons and gentlemen as patron of the Church.<sup>1</sup> These and other similar cases if allowed to continue unchecked, could only lead to disorder in the state, consequently James, already alienated from the ministers of Scotland, decided that they must be brought to heel.

A certain amount of progress in that direction had been made before 1603 when James became King of England as well as of Scotland, but his accession to the throne of England gave him a power which made him virtually independent of Scotland, and he was then in a position to deal with those whom he regarded as adversaries of the royal authority. He was clear in his mind about one thing at least, that Presbyterianism as it existed in Scotland must go and that in place of Presbyterianism Episcopacy must be established. The reason is clear. James intended to be a ruler, and his idea of monarchy was absolutism. But absolute rule cannot tolerate criticism. The Presbyterian ministers in Scotland had shown themselves critical of James and his ways, and as their source of ecclesiastical authority was a General Assembly consisting of a large number of ministers and laymen it was not easy to gain control of such a gathering, especially as many of the ministers and laymen were men of independent outlook. But a group of a dozen or so bishops was a different matter, especially if

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1. Grub Vol. ii p. 268.

their appointment was in the hands of the king. So James looked for suitable men to be bishops and so the means whereby he could gain control of the Church and thus crush any possibility of adverse criticism of his administration. 'God's silly vassal' was not prepared to tolerate any more liberties of the kind.

The chief member of the group of bishops whom James appointed by virtue of the royal prerogative to the dioceses of Scotland was John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow. It was mainly to Spottiswoode that the king looked to bring about the ecclesiastical changes he desired, and no account of the ecclesiastical administration of Spottiswoode can be fully comprehended apart from this background. James really cared for the welfare of the Church and he was convinced that he was able to guide it along the right lines, but his previous experience had given him a distaste for ministerial Assemblies, and he was sure in his own mind that Presbyterianism in the Church was tantamount to republicanism in the State. A college of bishops responsible to a single head (viz. himself) was something much more to his taste as being more in accord with the administration of a monarchy. Therefore we find that Spottiswoode was entrusted with the task of carrying out the projects of his royal master, and all through his career he had

to try to bring the Church into line with what was desired in London rather than with his own desires.

John Spottiswoode was a loyal servant of the Crown. To the twentieth century that might not seem to be particularly important but to the seventeenth century it was all-important, and especially so in Scotland. After centuries of misrule during the recurring minorities of the Stuarts, punctuated by brief flashes of vigorous activity on the part of some of the dynasty Scotland was a very badly/<sup>governed</sup>country up to the close of the sixteenth century. In the preceding two centuries there had not grown up any strong idea of a central executive under the king which could control the turbulent baronage and rule for the common weal. Consequently patriotically minded men were impelled to support the king even when he was in the wrong, as the alternative to a strong monarchy was an anarchy of feudal self-seeking unprincipled nobles. The Scottish Parliament a corrupt, effete, and ineffectual assemblage was useless as an instrument of government. Only the king in his own person offered a hope of reasonable and effective administration and justice. There had been no Wars of the Roses in the northern kingdom to hasten the end of a so-called nobility who as often as not would intrigue with each other or even with the national enemy England to gain some temporary

ascendancy and further their ignoble ambitions. The king was the only means of keeping such unruly subjects in order. As late as the minority of James VI the government of Scotland had been the prize of ambitious and unscrupulous peers few of whom had many redeeming qualities: Morton, Moray, Mar, Lennox and others each representing a faction in the state. The Raid of Ruthven and the Gowrie Conspiracy were of recent occurrence.

So when in the Church there seemed to have arisen a condition similar to that which existed in the State, with Black, Bruce, Welsh and Andrew Melville and others claiming licence to control, or at least comment on and influence, civil affairs, it must have seemed to many that the alternative to a strong central control was anarchy, and as there seemed to be no authority able to restrain the new type of 'turbulent priest', one must be brought into being. As the king seemed disposed to establish this authority he had the support of many who were not necessarily in sympathy with his general ecclesiastical views.

A point that is often overlooked is the fact that the extreme Presbyterian party were a comparatively small body with no great support in the country at large. The extremists were able to have a much greater voice in the conduct of Church

affairs than their numbers warranted because 1. they were a united group; 2. they included in their number some very able men; 3. they were often in parishes where it was fairly easy to attend meetings of the General Assembly. When a minister of the group was convicted of some offence and was ordered to be confined in the North of Scotland it was regarded by his associates as criminal conduct on the part of those who pronounced sentence, condemning a pious and zealous minister to live in barbarous parts. But had the minister been really pious and zealous for God and His Church he should have welcomed the opportunity of reclaiming souls lost to the Lord. There are many indignant comments in the works of Presbyterian historians about ministers from the North presuming to have any say in the affairs of the General Assembly. These ministers from the North, in the absence of good roads, sometimes of any roads, could not easily get to meetings of the Assembly, consequently that body was not fully representative of the Church of Scotland. The Assembly tended to be dominated more and more by the group which upheld Presbyterianism, whose members were able, active, and usually in parishes whence it was easy to attend the meetings, and as in the case of Nazi Germany a resolute and united minority were able to impose their views on an apathetic majority.



Many ministers, however, held different views, although they could not often give utterance to these views. Thus in 1597 a conference held at Perth<sup>1</sup> showed the north country ministers to be strongly opposed to the views of the Melvilles and their adherents, and at the subsequent General Assembly held in Dundee it was agreed that king's assent was required for meetings, that ordination be by imposition of hands, and that a group of ministers be commissioned to meet with the king when required to consult on Church affairs.<sup>2</sup> In 1598, again meeting in Dundee, the General Assembly agreed that ministers ought to have vote in Parliament as one of the Estates of the land.<sup>3</sup> It was ministers such as those who supported the above proposals, whose existence enabled King James to carry on his struggle with the dominant faction. It has been held that such ministers represented only a small section of the populace, but that contention is entirely baseless. The latest (1949) information issued by the Office of the Registrar-General of Scotland on the subject of population, states that until the beginning of the nineteenth century almost half the population of Scotland lived north of the Tay. The ministers of these parts were prepared to support the measures of the King against the "Popes of Edinburgh", and they represented a

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1. History Vol. iii p. 47; cf. Grub Vol. ii pp. 273-274.

2. History Vol. iii pp. 58-60.

3. History Vol. iii pp. 68-69.

real feeling in the country, a longing for the cessation of ecclesiastical strife.<sup>1</sup> Spottiswoode was of like mind with those ministers, and he also looked to the King to overthrow the obstreperous high-flying Presbyterians with whom he had lost sympathy.

In the early seventeenth century Scotland had no tradition of political freedom or democracy. In fact until less than a century ago democracy was a term of disrepute, as can be seen from the letters of Scott and others,<sup>2</sup> bearing the same connotation as is applied in modern times to communism. When Spottiswoode was in office all authority centred on the Crown. This was a passing phase of political development, in the transition stage of development from feudalism to modern political democracy. All officers of State were naturally bound to the king who had appointed them, and they had to carry out as best they could his directions, often in face of the opposition of powerful nobles. To those who had to fill these offices the king was paramount. He and he alone was the only source of authority. In the centuries preceding the Reformation the king had had a rival authority in the Papacy. Now that the Pope had lost his hold on Scotland the king had no rival,

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1. cf. Gardiner, Vol. vii p. 292.

2. cf. also Pepys's contempt for 'citizens'.

and James intended to do in Scotland what Henry VIII had done in England, assume in Church matters the authority of which the Pope had been stripped. As sole fount of honour and power in the State he could not countenance a rival in the Church, and as he had the support of the peace loving mass of the people in civil affairs, so he looked for their backing in matters ecclesiastical.

The authority inherent in the Crown which is to us a politefiction was something very real to our ancestors of the seventeenth century. The king was not only the political head of the nation, he was the Lord's anointed servant. It is often made a charge against Royalists that they were reactionary, tools of an authoritarian king. But that does not represent the case adequately. The Scottish Covenanters, actually in arms against the king could write in the following terms: "that we may.....come into Your Majesty's Presence for obtaining from Your Majesty's justice and goodness satisfaction to our just demands, we, Your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects do insist.....most humbly entreating that Your Majesty would in the depth of your Royal Wisdom consider at last our pressing grievances.....that we may with cheerfulness of heart pay unto Your Majesty, as our native King, all duty and obedience that can be expected from loyal subjects, and

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that.....Your Majesty's throne may be established in the midst of us, in Religion and righteousness, and Your Majesty's gracious answer we humbly desire and earnestly wait for."<sup>1</sup> Again they begin a letter to the Earl of Lanark "As nothing in earth is more desired for us than His Majesty's favour, so doth nothing delight us more than that His Majesty beginneth again to hearken to our humble desires."<sup>2</sup> This is the language of men in arms against their King (the date is 1640) so we can imagine the feelings of men who were devoted to him and his service.

In England the position of the monarchy in relation to the Church was governed by Article No. 37 which states "The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain.....we give.....that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal," and the royal title was "Supreme Governor of the Church of England." In Scotland the original Confession of Faith drawn

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1. Peterkin, Records of the Kirk p. 300.

2. Peterkin p. 300 see also p. 299 etc.

up in 1560 stated in Chapter 24 "To Kings, Princes, Rulers and Magistrates we affirm that chiefly and most principally the reformation and purgation of the Religion appertains; so that not only they are appointed for civil policy but also for maintenance of true Religion.....and therefore we confess and avow that such as resist the supreme power (doing that thing which appertains to his charge) do resist God's ordinance." The Negative Confession of 1580 reads "because we perceive that the quietness and stability of our Religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of His Majesty as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country for the maintaining of His Kirk, we protest and promise.....that we shall defend his Person and Authority with our goods, bodies and lives."

This latter statement might be regarded as a natural extravagance in view of the fact that this Confession was drawn up by John Craig at the desire of the King, but this Confession formed part of the National Covenant of 1638, and in that Covenant, among the laws cited, there was included Act 47 Parlt. 3 King James 6 where Papists are "rebellers and gainstanders of our Sovereign Lord's authority" and mention is made of the fact that "the cause of God's True Religion and His Majesty's Authority are so joined as the hurt of the one is

common to both" and it calls on men "to maintain our Sovereign Lord's Authority." Again "all lieges are bound to maintain the King's Majesty's Royal person and authority" and it is declared that "the true worship of God and the King's Authority [are] so straitly joined as that they.....stand and fall together."

These various declarations show the general recognition of the royal authority in matters of religion and the later phrases occur in the National Covenant drawn up and signed by those who knew that they were deliberately opposing the king and his policy. In such circumstances it would be idle to look for any other idea than the Crown as the sole source of all authority for Archbishop Spottiswoode. This would include religious as well as civil authority. It is therefore meaningless for subsequent ages to speak of the General Assembly being used as a rubber stamp for the king's will or the bishops as obsequious crown servants. Opposition to the king was not to be dreamt of. It is easy to say that after 1616 Spottiswoode and the other bishops should have set their faces firmly against the later innovations of James and that they should most certainly have refused to handle King Charles's projects of a Code of Canons and revised Liturgy. But such a course was unthinkable for them. It would have meant cutting

away the foundations of life, civil, religious and moral. If the Throne were the source of all authority, remove or try to curtail that authority and the result would be anarchy. We may call the bishops reactionary, feudalism, short-sighted, Erastian or any other epithets of the sort, but we must remember that their views were also the views of the majority of their contemporaries. Cromwell was later to find the truth of this statement, as is evidenced by his various expedients and experiments in government.

The great difficulty which Archbishop Spottiswoode encountered in his ecclesiastical work was that a new conception of Authority in both Church and State was dawning on the minds of a growing number. They were looking forward, he was looking back; but he was not concerned with constitutional history. His work was to carry out as best he could the orders of his royal master. Such a conception of authority may retard or make progress impossible, but it was there, and that explains why Spottiswoode made no demur when in 1617 the King procured the Act regulating the election of prelates. This Act gave to the King the right of nominating to the chapter during the vacancy of a see, a candidate whom they must elect. This *congé d'élire* took away any control by the Church over the appointment of bishops, and put the destiny of the Church in

the hands of the king and his successors, but for Spottiswoode that meant no change in the situation, and if they spoke truth should have had the approval of the Covenanters also.

It might be interesting to consider what Archbishop Spottiswoode should have done or might have done, but it would not be germane to our purpose. Spottiswoode's conception of authority precluded any other course of action for him, and also explains many of his moves which are now regarded as questionable. To preserve stability in Church and State against those who would overturn the accepted order any methods might be employed. Politics has always been regarded, rightly or wrongly, as a dirty business, and affairs in both Church and State in the seventeenth century were 'politics', with both sides employing means which we should now regard as underhand. The line of demarcation between Church and State was not then so clearly marked as it is now, and it is often difficult to see where it ran. When the case of the ministers who constituted the prohibited General Assembly of 1605 was tried by the Privy Council, while the ministers tried to make it a matter of Church discipline and principle, the King made it an affair of assembly of the lieges against his orders. So also Spottiswoode in his Sermon to the General Assembly at Perth in 1618 could insist that the articles under discussion



involved no point of principle and so were within the bounds of the royal authority and prerogative, not being repugnant to the Word of God, and he could even say that "if the King turned Papist we must obey, because who could resist Princes."<sup>1</sup>

The truth is that in the ecclesiastical conflict in Scotland in the early seventeenth century we have the beginnings of modern political freedom. Spottiswoode was a conservative holding to the accepted view and his opponents, although they did not realise it and certainly in many instances did not intend it, were laying the foundations on which was built in the course of ages our modern way of life. The forces let loose at the Reformation have not yet subsided, but to Spottiswoode that convulsion was a definite event in the past. The event may have been past, but the ideas inherent in the Reformation continued and still continue to develop. The presbyterians in their turn were as repressive as ever Archbishop Spottiswoode was, but the ideas prevailed over the blindness of men of both sides and could not be repressed indefinitely. It is probably true to say that, although few if any of those concerned realised it, the real conflict was not so much between personalities and systems of government as between different sets of ideas, and as always the forward looking ideas triumphed. So much later

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1. Rothes; Relation p. 10 quoted in Grub Vol. ii p. 302.

they triumphed over the bigotry and intolerance of the Presbyterians. It is futile to condemn either the Bishops or ministers for their failure because we in our day have equally failed to reach an accommodation with those same ideas, which, originating in an ecclesiastical movement within the Church, are now being used in some quarters to overthrow the Church and its authority from outside.

The quotations already given from the Confessions and the National Covenant as well as what was said in a previous chapter<sup>1</sup> all show the same basic feeling, which survived the Rebellion and the Revolution and in some quarters continues to this day. The anointed King is the divinely appointed ruler of the nation, and so is the fount not only of all honour but also of all authority. It behoved Archbishop Spottiswoode to obey because he could do no other.. It is true that he might be accused of handing over the Church to the absolute control of the king, but as far as he was concerned the Church already was in the absolute control of the king. It might be argued that the course he took effectively prevented any genuine development and growth in the spiritual or administrative sphere in the Church, but the limit of development in his view had already been attained. The Confession of Faith approved

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1. p. 112.

by the General Assembly in Aberdeen in 1616 has it: "We believe, and constantly affirm, that the Kirk of Scotland, through the abundant grace of our God, is one of the most pure kirks under heaven this day, both in respect of truth in doctrine and purity in worship." There can be little advance on that.

The foregoing explains the seeming apathy of Archbishop Spottiswoode in the matter of the Code of Canons and Liturgy which together served to overthrow the regime over which he was set. He had done what he could in 1629 and in 1633. The imposition of the English Service Book had been averted, and he could now only hope that the projected Canons and Service Book would not be too badly received. The fact that his trusted friend John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross was closely concerned in the framing of the Liturgy may have reassured him somewhat. In any case there was little that he could do now, except wait for the revealing of the royal command, and then obey. As has been said he may have made some objection to the Code of Canons so that eventually they were imposed and issued by virtue of the royal prerogative. In regard to the Service Book of 1637 if Principal Watt is right in his account given in "Recalling the Scottish Covenants"<sup>1</sup> it would seem that the final form of the Liturgy was not known to Bishop Maxwell

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1. pp. 52-53.

until the book was actually issued, as Archbishop Laud writes to Bishop Wedderburn "in the printing of your Liturgy you are to follow the book which my Lord Ross brought, and the additions which are made to the book I now send." In any case it would make little or no difference to Spottiswoode, Chancellor and Primate as in both capacities he would feel bound to further the royal designs.

It is worthy of note that in the Act of Parliament of 1609 which restored their jurisdiction to the bishops in Scotland mention is made of "the Church's liberties, privileges, freedom and jurisdiction granted to them by His Majesty, (from whom only their temporal jurisdiction doth flow)"<sup>1</sup> The implication here is that the king has no spiritual jurisdiction or authority, but that he has all other authority over the Church. This is true. Apart from what we may call the sacerdotal principle, i.e. ministry of the Word and Sacraments and ordination, James regarded himself as authorised to have full control over the Church. Parliament thought likewise, so according to their pronouncements did the Covenanters. Even as late as 1643 in the Solemn League and Covenant there occurs the phrases "to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority", "we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness." In the

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1. Calderwood Vol. vii p. 42.

circumstances can Spottiswoode be altogether blamed for his loyalty?

Even if the question be put "did he not owe a loyalty to the Church as well as to the king?" the main point will be missed. Bishop Patrick Forbes was not one to insist on innovations merely because they originated with the king, and Bishop Forbes was stricter than most in enforcing conformity with the Articles of Perth. The reason was that in his view the articles might be inexpedient but they were not contrary to the Word of God and so matters of indifference in themselves, and as they were urged by the royal authority they should be binding once accepted by the Church. So with Archbishop Spottiswoode there was no clash of loyalties. The matters of Canons and Liturgy had been agreed at Aberdeen in 1616, they were indifferent in themselves as not repugnant to Scripture, they were introduced by royal authority, and so he had to further them to the best of his ability. For him there was no divided loyalty. He might have had apprehensions about the reception likely to greet these fresh innovations, and he might have felt that they were unnecessary, but there was no point of principle involved, therefore the Canons and Liturgy, like the Articles of Perth, should be accepted because they had behind them the authority of the Crown.

It is easy for us to see the fallacy involved in this reasoning. In both Canons and Liturgy there were expressed or inherent doctrines which were contrary to the declared standards of the Church of Scotland. Their acceptance would mean the rejection of these standards. But if Spottiswoode was not aware of the contents of the Service Book he would not be aware of the full extent of the deviations from the accepted norm until it was too late. The fact that several of the bishops had not seen the Service Book before publication suggests that the Primate was uneasy in his own mind over the Book, as indeed he was, and in the end no ecclesiastical body was consulted about its introduction. The new Service Book bore no resemblance to any liturgical forms hitherto used in the Reformed Church of Scotland, and had little chance of being accepted by either ministers or laymen, but it was too late now to do anything. The King had given his orders, and the Primate must obey.

In former times the Archbishop had always tried to get the approval of the ministers for any innovations, and we may well ask why he did nothing of the sort now. Several reasons can be given. Since 1618 there had been no meeting of the General Assembly and in general there had been comparatively little trouble in the church as a whole. A meeting of the

Assembly however might cause the hitherto latent opposition to come out in force. In any case the king would never sanction such a meeting. Again Spottiswoode must have felt that he now stood alone. His former friends and contemporaries were gone and he sorely missed Patrick Forbes. He was also an old man of seventy two and unable to restrain the zeal and vigour of the younger prelates. Besides he had probably realised that he no longer exercised much influence with Charles who in such matters was guided by Archbishop Laud. Unable to deal with the situation which was arising and too out of touch with the new regime to direct the course of events he had the alternative before him, to go on with the king or to rebel. He could not rebel against the royal authority for which he had such regard, nor would he be allowed to resign, therefore he had to go forward to his own destruction, a victim of his sense of loyalty.

INFLUENCE OF ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE ON THE CHURCH.

Taking into account all that led up to the signing of the National Covenant in 1638 we must agree that the ecclesiastical policy of Archbishop Spottiswoode was a failure. A peacemaker, he failed to preserve peace. A bishop, he found his Order repudiated by the Church. A leader of the Church, he was left with little following. A man prudent and cautious by nature he found himself pushed over the bounds of reason to final destruction.

But to dismiss the matter thus would not only be a grave injustice to John Spottiswoode, but would be to take a very superficial view of the subject and show little critical acumen or balance of judgment. There is much more to be taken into account than a series of failures. In more recent years Cosmo Gordon Lang during his time as Archbishop of Canterbury had a long series of failures in most of the things which he attempted, but it would be wrong to set down the twentieth century Primate of All England as of little account: equally it would be wrong to brand the seventeenth century Primate of Scotland as of little account. There is much to be said in his favour, and in spite of the final failure, much was accomplished. The man who led



ecclesiastical Scotland for a generation in turbulent days is not to be regarded lightly.

To appreciate the magnitude of the achievement of John Spottiswoode we must consider the magnitude of the task he was called upon to perform. He had to govern a Church which was in no mood to accept the rule of any one man, and in which those who held different views from his own occupied a leading position. He had to introduce into the worship and customs of that Church matters which were regarded with hostility by many and with suspicion by most. He had to curb a ministry accustomed to speak its mind freely. He had to bring under episcopal supervision a Church which prided itself on its freedom from interference and whose experience of bishops had hitherto been unfortunate. And as if all that were not sufficiently difficult of accomplishment, his task had to be undertaken at a time when the tide of Church life was flowing strongly, a time when new ideas were in the air and new thoughts on politics, economics and religion were being more and more promulgated. Not only so but Spottiswoode was further handicapped by the realisation that the nobility of Scotland who were the natural leaders of the nation were being more and more alienated from the system which he represented, by the

irritating although well meant policy of a king who knew little about conditions in Scotland and whose chief ecclesiastical adviser was one who had already incurred much odium in England.

In spite of the difficulties inherent in his position and external handicaps Archbishop Spottiswoode was able to keep the machinery of Church government in Scotland functioning over a period of thirty years. Opposition, at first virulent and violent was at length overcome and the Church as a whole had a period of peace which, however, was too short to enable it to settle down to tranquillity.

The main obstacle to the plans of King James for bringing the Church of Scotland under his control was the General Assembly. This was a very independent body, vigorously expressing its opinions and claiming wide authority. The Assembly in fact was coming to occupy the position in the political life of the nation which Parliament was by its composition and constitution incapable of occupying. The control of Parliament was fairly easy to secure as almost all power was in the hands of the Committee of the Estates who were known as the Lords of the Articles. These lords consisted of a number of the bishops (usually

eight) nominated by the nobility. The nominated bishops then in turn nominated a like number of the nobility and these bishops and nobles combined to elect a similar number from the barons and burgesses. This group did all the real business and if the full Parliament met after the election of the Lords of the Articles it was merely to ratify their proposals laid before the Estates..

The middle classes however were now growing in power, and they had no adequate means of expressing that growing power in the political sphere, so they eagerly turned to the recently established General Assembly of the Church where they found a means of making their views known. The General Assembly, although ecclesiastical was not a clerical body. In the early stages lay members predominated, and according to Professor Ferrier it was never intended that the Assembly should be an ecclesiastical body concerned with what we should call purely Church matters. His words are "We know that it [The General Assembly] was a National and not an ecclesiastical board. We know, moreover, that it was the intention of our Reformers - the intention of the General Assembly itself - that it should continue to be a National, and that it should not be suffered to become an Ecclesiastical Institution."<sup>1</sup>

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1. "Observations on Church and State" p. 11 quoted in Keith's "Affairs of Church and State in Scotland" Vol. III p. 79 note.

In the General Assembly the wealthy middle classes had an influence which they could never secure in the national Parliament. They had but recently come to realise their political potentialities. James I had tried to weld them into the existing Parliamentary system but it was not until the days of James V that they had taken their place in the body politic, and the mode of conducting business had precluded their having any real say in the conduct of affairs. Consequently they welcomed the opportunity provided by the system of lay representation in the General Assembly where they really could influence affairs of moment in both Church and State.

The efforts of King James VI to curtail the activities of the Assembly aroused resentment among the merchants who felt that they were being deprived of their new means of influencing the political life of Scotland. The laymen who took exception to the teaching of William Forbes in Edinburgh were of the wealthy merchant class, and this class provided a great many of the members of the Assembly of 1638. Many of the ministers were also drawn from this class.

In the circumstances Archbishop Spottiswoode's dealings with the meetings of the General Assembly showed

rare discretion. The lay members were excluded as far as possible. Nothing which would arouse lay resentment was introduced and all topics were ecclesiastical. Most of the disputes in Assembly were therefore regarded as clerical matters, and the laity in general showed considerable indifference. The notable exception to this policy was the Article in 1618 concerning kneeling at the reception of Holy Communion, and by his subsequent conduct the Primate did what he could to avoid arousing the antagonism of the laity. But always he realised that the burghers having once tasted power would continue to press for a further measure of representation.

The policy followed by King Charles had the effect of alienating the nobility from the Establishment which was so closely linked to the Crown. The middle classes, although a potential danger, were troublesome rather than dangerous, but with the nobility at their head they could form a very grave menace indeed. Together they sufficed to undo the thirty years of careful work by the Primate.

It is here that we find the great defect in the administrative policy of Archbishop Spottiswoode. He does not seem to have realised the importance of conciliating the

laity. To a considerable extent he had by 1635 succeeded with the clergy, but there seems to have been no bid to secure the support of the laity. Whilst he could be very tactful in dealing with such lay managers of local parishes as he met, and usually had his way, he seems to have done little in the way of trying to carry the laymen with him in his proposed alterations in worship. Perhaps he thought that as in his younger days the chief troublers of the peace were ministers, now that they were mainly pacified there was no further cause for alarm. The clerical outlook, not for the first or last time, proved the undoing of much good and valuable work.

The main characteristic of Archbishop Spottiswoode's administration was the lenity with which he treated those ministers who appeared before him on charges connected with disregard of ecclesiastical regulations. He was not one to go to extremes. He disliked violence and seldom used great severity. Seldom did he impose any hard penalty. Admonition seems to have been the normal punishment, and only occasionally was deprivation resorted to, and then usually because of special circumstances, such as a repetition of the offence or because the king insisted on severity. I have not been able to find any instance of excommunication

being pronounced in such cases. This forbearance over a period of some thirty years is in marked contrast with the violence of the Covenanters in 1638 and 1939 when over fifty ministers were deprived or excommunicated.

The people of Scotland as a whole did not feel anything burdensome in the yoke of John Spottiswoode. The laity seldom came into the picture at all. This was, as has been said, in one sense a grievous even fatal defect, but in another way it worked to the vindication of Spottiswoode and his policy. The true value of the administration of Archbishop Spottiswoode is seen not in considering either his success or failure in the period before 1638, but in noting the position after 1660. By then Scotland had had a term of Presbyterian rule and did not like it. The subsequent government under General Monk, just and competent as it had been, was liked even less. In 1660 the people of Scotland were sick of quarrels and factions in the Church and wanted to be left alone. The re-established Episcopacy, a replica of the Spottiswoode regime, may not have been cherished by the people, but tired of clerical squabbles they could compare the former Episcopacy of Spottiswoode with the rule of the Covenanters. The triumph of John Spottiswoode

may be best seen in 1666 when the extreme Covenanters marched to their destruction at Rullion Green, and Scotland in general stood by, indifferent. If the people had no deep love for Episcopacy they had even less regard for Covenanters.

Thus we may put it that the great achievement of Archbishop Spottiswoode as Churchman was not so much what he did as what he did in comparison with others. In the midst of turmoil, and contending with internal dissension he kept the Church quiet, which the Covenanters with no internal opposition could not do. The latter, triumphant in 1638, were in a few years so disunited and at odds that when in 1650 the General Assembly was sent packing by Monk the general feeling was one of relief. The contrast between the violence of the Covenanters and the prudent, mild Archbishop was so glaring that in 1660<sup>1</sup> the system which he had done so much to further was restored, and three fourths of the people made no demur at the restoration.

There is little more to be said about Archbishop Spottiswoode as Churchman. On the general course of ecclesiastical development in Scotland he had of course little effect, as since 1690 the Presbyterian system to which he was opposed has been the established form of religion in Scotland.



In regard to Episcopacy his influence was unfortunate. He began the rather unfortunate connection between Episcopacy and the Stuart dynasty, although he cannot be blamed for the subsequent political developments which fifty years after his death saddled the Episcopalians with a blind unreasoning loyalty to the Stuart cause. But in spite of all this there is one great distinction which cannot be denied to Spottiswoode. In circumstances which gave him great power, he never abused that power nor suffered himself to become a tyrant. John Spottiswoode was not a persecutor, and in this respect he deserves the greatest credit. He showed something rare in the seventeenth century, power used with mildness and some share of that Charity which shall cover the multitude of sins.

VIII.

CHARACTER AND ATTAINMENT OF ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE.

As has been stated it would be easy and superficially justifiable to describe John Spottiswoode as an ineffectual failure. As theologian his influence was almost negligible. As historian he is suspect because his motives in writing a history of the Church of Scotland are suspect. As Churchman he failed to maintain the spiritual independence of the Church, allowing the Crown to have a controlling influence in ecclesiastical affairs, and he failed also to bring about any agreement on ritual or liturgy, points on which at one time all shades of opinion in the Church were in some degree at one. It would not be too much to say that to the generality of Scottish students of history, even students of Church history, John Spottiswoode is scarcely even a name. To most of those to whom this present thesis is known, the subject is quite unknown. Even honours graduates of our Scottish Universities, who one might suppose, would be familiar with the course of Scottish history, are entirely unaware of the existence of John Spottiswoode, and one who had high marks in ecclesiastical history thought he was one of the post-Restoration bishops. This general ignorance is perhaps reprehensible but also in some degree

understandable. John Spottiswoode is not one of the great figures of history. The cause which he supported has been disestablished for 260 years. The ecclesiastical descendants of those who were then disestablished feel little kinship with Spottiswoode as his episcopate died out in 1662, and was replaced by a new dynasty. Also there is little in common between the Episcopate of the early seventeenth century and the Episcopate of the eighteenth century except Erastian loyalty to the Stuart line. Spottiswoode is an Episcopal Melchizedek.

But there is a deeper cause for the obscurity which now surrounds Archbishop Spottiswoode. John Knox would have few followers today. Why is the seventeenth century bishop so much less known than the sixteenth century Reformer? The bishop was a man of considerable attainments, probably much more so than Knox. He was able and industrious and of great talent. His scholarship is unquestioned and he managed the affairs of the Church with skill and address over a long period of years and in circumstances of difficulty. And yet he is scarcely remembered.

The reason for the eclipse of Spottiswoode lies in himself. The great difference between John Knox and John Spottiswoode is that whereas the former had genius,

the latter had talent and industry. It might be hard to put into words the genius of Knox but it was there and is there, even to one who abhors his conduct and dislikes his principles. In a few years Knox changed the character of Scotland, and however much detractors of Knox such as the present writer may try to reduce his stature that is a true statement. In thirty years Spottiswoode for all his great ability made little permanent impression. A revealing statement was made to the writer once by a dignitary of the Episcopal Church "When I was at Glasgow Professor Rait wanted me to edit Spottiswoode and I read him but could not tackle it. He was too too dull." Another dignitary of my acquaintance, hearing that I was working on Spottiswoode said "How very nice; and how very dull." These remarks may not be profound but they give the clue to the failure of John Spottiswoode. Dullness and genius are incompatible, and the whole of the active life of Archbishop Spottiswoode was an effort to maintain normality in abnormal circumstances. The duller things were, the better for him. Similarly in his writings personal feeling is deliberately excluded. There is smoothness, elegance and fluency of expression, but nothing to relieve the even monotony of tone. There is none of the arrogance of Knox and none of the genius. Thus

the "History of the Church of Scotland" of Spottiswoode means little in the annals of historical writing whereas the "History of the Reformation" by Knox is famous.

Perhaps as good a way as possible of assessing the attainments and marking the defect in the character of Archbishop Spottiswoode is to say that he was an admirable Civil Servant. He was a capable administrator and conscientious servant in the royal government. He could carry out the commands of others but he could not initiate movements. His judgment was sound and his practical experience extensive but his lack of originality kept him from achieving true greatness. The divine fire was missing. He had talent, industry, learning but he was not a leader of men, or of movements. At home in the humdrum mundane matters of office routine he was out of his depth when passions were roused and feeling ran high. His natural timidity made him shrink back from fierce opposition as was shown in his vacillations after the riots which marked the introduction of the Service Book in 1637. No fighter at any time his pacific nature quailed before the revolt which the royal policy had provoked and he lacked the quality requisite to press on in the teeth of opposition. This indecision cost

him his place among the great figures of Scottish history and doomed him to the obscurity reserved for the second rate.

Had John Spottiswoode possessed the spirit of real greatness the course of Scottish history would have been changed. Had he the quality of leadership he might have led the Scottish church in paths far other than those it eventually trod. He might have defied the royal power and in so doing united Scotland as it had not been for many years. But he had not and he did not. Events which he might have controlled, controlled him, and instead of being a national hero and his name a household word he remains a secondary figure, another in a long line of prelates, John Spottiswoode, Archbishop and Chancellor.